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NOTICE TO READERS: The processing indicators appearing in brackets at the start of each item in this publication have been changed. All indicators now begin with "FBIS" to make the material more easily identifiable in databases. Some also indicate whether the item has been translated from the vernacular or transcribed from English.

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Berisha Campaigns for Draft Constitution

LD2310174394 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 1700 GMT 22 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Albanian president, Sali Berisha, made another appeal to the Albanian people to vote for the draft constitution of the Republic in the 6 November referendum. It is very important—he said—that the constitution be approved in our ancient tradition of the people [word indistinct]. He stated this in a meeting with the people of Dukazhini Highlands, northern part of Albania. By mentioning the best traditions of this zone, Berisha said the first laws of Albania originate from this place. He considered the [words indistinct] canon as the eternal deepening of the rights what made it so resistant to the centuries. The philosophy of this canon is much more progressive than that of Marx's and Engels' philosophy.

The president laid emphasis on the draft constitution, which he said is based on the best traditions of the Albanian life. While compiling it, we have taken into consideration our laws which have put the people on the equal position and considered the human dignity as untouchable. We shall make this constitution (?steadily) based on the virtue of freedom, the respecting of each other, the freedom of Albania and the sovereignty of the country, the part of our soul. It will lead us for centuries to the status of freedom, Berisha said.

Addressing to the highlanders summoned in this meeting, Berisha said: I have come in Dukazhin to head your work, as the work for the constitution of Albania is the greatest [word indistinct] for it. This time we shall all vote for the constitution, convinced that we shall be loyal to this law for ever, as we shall be to Albania.

PR Chairman on Referendum, Draft Constitution

AU2310182294 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 21 Oct 94

[Interview with Republican Party Chairman Sabri Godo by Sokol Terihati in Tirana on 21 October—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Terihati] The second congress of the Republican Party of Albania [PR] ended its proceedings today. The congress arrived at several decisions regarding the future political position of the party and various political positions it should maintain. The congress reelected Sabri Godo chairman of the Republican Party. To better understand all these problems, we decided to talk to Mr. Godo.

Mr. Godo, what will be your party's main short- and long-term goals?

[Godo] In general, the congress examined the overall situation in our country and the political and economic problems we estimate to be very difficult and complicated,and finally adopted a clear position vis-a-vis several problems that have distressed us for a long time.

[Terihati] One of the problems you tackled in your report was the issue of whether or not to continue the coalition with the Democratic Party [PD] and the Social Democratic Party. What did the congress decide?

[Godo] The opinion of the congress was that it seems this alliance can not proceed any further.

[Terihati] What did the congress determine?

[Godo] We consider this alliance to be finished. However, we would like to stress that even in the future, we will continue our relations with the PD, with whom we share a common position as regards the anti-communist fight in Albania and in regarding the presence of communism in the country to constitute a serious, threatening danger. We remain open to every kind of common activity, particularly in this direction.

[Terihati] Will there be a retreat of your ministers from the government?

[Godo] No, we will continue the governmental coalition until the end. We have several times demanded that this coalition become more effective and useful to the country.

[Terihati] Before the congress—and even during its proceedings—you expressed the opinion that it is better for Albania to support the referendum, and that PR sympathizers and members should support it as a democratic form and say yes to the draft constitution. What did the congress decide on this problem?

[Godo] To express myself very plainly, and considering the congress' unanimous decision: We will vote in favor of the constitution and we are for the referendum.

[Terihati] You are a party that renowned for defending the national cause. What goals did the congress set regarding this problem important for our entire nation?

[Terihati] We reiterated our demand that Albanians need a common platform to serve as the axis of activity for political forces within the country and abroad. We should also better determine a number of directions in foreign policy concerning states more disposed to supporting our policy. Just like the others, we have always expressed the opinion that we are living at a very very important time for our country, being the only people in Europe who are separated. We have a chance to win, but to lose as well. This depends largely on common activity by Albanians.

[Terihati] Mr. Godo, there is nothing left but to congratulate you on your election as chairman, and I wish the Republican Party a very fruitful life.

[Godo] Thank you, with wishes for better cooperation with radio-television in the future.

PSD Opposes Referendum, Draft Constitution

AU2310182394 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 22 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The third national conference of the Social Democratic Party [PSD] ended its proceedings

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this afternoon. PSD Chairman Skender Gjinushi told us the conference approved a resolution in which, in addition to expressing the party's position regarding other topics of interest, it declared its stance against the approval of the constitution through a referendum as well as the draft constitution that has been put forward, as they do not coincide with the program of the Social Democrats.

Greek Church Leader Cited on 'Temporary Stay'

AU2110144394 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 14 Oct 94 p 1

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—"The question of my temporary stay in Albania has not been discussed, and there is nobody else eligible at the moment to take over this responsible position," Archbishop Ianoulatos says in a contentious statement of response to President Berisha. A few days earlier, Berisha, when asked by journalists about the problem of the head of the Albanian Orthodox Autocephalous Church staying after the new constitution is approved, replied that the proposed draft constitution precludes non-Albanian citizens from occupying this position, and he underscored the pledge that Ianoulatos himself had made regarding his temporary stay. Now Ianoulatos is denying in his reply that there were any previous discussions about his temporary stay in Albania. Quoting a previous statement by Berisha himself, Ianoulatos concludes that a definite solution to the problem "is above all a matter for the Church, which in Albania is separate from the state."

Prime Minister Welcomes New U.S. Ambassador

LD2010210094 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 1700 GMT 20 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Albanian prime minister, Aleksander Meksi, received the new American ambassador in Albania, Joseph Lake. Meksi pointed out the importance the relations with the United States had for Albania and expressed the willingness to further extend them. Meksi expressed the readiness of the Albanian Government to formalize all the agreements existing between the two countries and the exploration of the other fields through bilateral cooperation.

Lake on his part expressed his thanks for the friendly atmosphere he has found in Albania and committed to deepen the cooperation between the two countries to help Albania in strengthening the democracy. Meksi and Lake exchanged opinions about the situation in the region, the relations with the other neighbors of Albania, the referendum on the draft constitution of Albania.

Paper Views Effect of NATO Base on Locals

AU2110144494 Lezha KOHA JONE in Albanian 15 Oct 94 p 3

[Report signed "B.B.": "Will Shengjin Become a NATO Base? Shengjin for NATO or for the Fishermen?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Those who over the past year have attempted to go to the hunting peninsula of Lezha will remember how they were halted by military checkpoints and how U.S. soldiers turned back Albanians who wanted to eat or stay at the Hunting Hotel. It was said that the hotel—the residence of Mussolini's son-in-law during World War II—had been put at the disposal of the CIA and NATO troops. The spy planes that came from across the sea, taking off from Gjadri airport, passed over this place, flying for months over the war zones in Bosnia, former Yugoslavia. The airport was used for aircraft, while U.S. soldiers and army officers ate and slept at the Hunting Hotel.

Now, however, the soldiers and spy planes have left the Gjadri and Ishull-Lezhe area, taking with them the idea of making Gjadri a NATO airport.

Nevertheless, the idea, wish, and perhaps need to put something at NATO's disposal have moved a few kilometers west of Ishull-Lezhe, to the little coastal town of Shengjin. Now it is said that Shengjin's small harbor has attracted NATO's attention. It is said that Shengjin could become a military seaport. In the meantime, because of a lack of investment, Shengjin's inhabitants have turned to the sea, to fishing. If NATO comes to Albania, they will have to leave. The inhabitants will have to leave if NATO occupies their sea and scares away their fish.

Halili, EU Envoy Sign Agriculture Agreement

AU2310201894 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1230 GMT 22 Oct 94

[Report by Vjollca Mala]

[FBIS Translated Text] Agriculture and Food Minister Hasan Halili and Elio Germano, European Union [EU] ambassador in Tirana, signed a financial agreement in Tirana yesterday to boost Albanian agriculture. This agreement is a continuation of the PHARE [Economic and Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program for 1992-93, which granted 25 million ECU to assist with agriculture.

The EU has allotted 5 million ECU for the 1994 agricultural program. The program is aimed at supporting and developing the land registration process, the privatization of state agricultural enterprises, and the strengthening of the institutional capacity of the Agriculture and Food Ministry and the Agricultural Trade Bank, as well as the Albanian farmer, and also at acquiring the means to administer the credit.

Asked about the goals of this program, Agriculture and Food Minister Hasan Halili said:

[Begin Halili recording] With the agreement signed today with His Excellency Mr. Germano, EU ambassador to Albania, we are going from the emergency phase, which the PHARE project has followed in Albania, to long-term investments. In this case, these

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long-term investments are included in the project for establishing land policies, setting up new lines of [word indistinct], and restructuring the food industry. These are the three main aspects that we aim to accomplish with the project we signed today. [end recording]

[Begin Germano recording, in French fading into Albanian translation] The agreement that was signed today is a continuation of the 1992-93 PHARE program. The main goal is to assist in compiling land cadastres, as an important phase in the development of Albanian agriculture. Our contribution anticipates financial and technical assistance. The 1994 program for the development of agriculture is aimed at establishing an acceptable credit level for small enterprises, associations of private farmers, and private agricultural enterprises.

As for the long term, the program will support the modernization and restructuring of the Albanian economy, increase agricultural production and exports, distribute market surpluses for household use, and improve the level of income and the welfare of the peasant populace. [end recording]

German Firm Removes Pesticides From Bajze

AU2210194594 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 16 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] After a long odyssey of two and a half years, the 17 cars that the German firm Schmidt Cretan of Hannover deposited at the Bajze railway station with 190 metric tons of expired pesticides have now been unloaded and the dangerous pesticides repacked in safe containers.

The remaining pesticides were placed in 70 containers, removed from the Bajze station yesterday, and taken to the Durres port. They will be added to the total 460,000 metric tons brought to our country by this firm and will be shipped out of Albania to Germany, the country of origin, where they will be destroyed.

The German firm Busch Technologien repacked these expired pesticides with the assistance of group of soldiers from the military chemical unit of Tirana, who worked in Bajze for three weeks.

Dr. Thomas Hafel, a representative of the German firm responsible for the repacking, confirmed that all of the expired pesticides that came from Germany have been removed from Bajze and the city of Shkoder.

Zhulali Departs on Official Visit to PRC

LD2010192694 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 1700 GMT 20 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Albanian Defense Minister Safet Zhulali left for an official visit to the People's Republic of China. He will conduct talks there with his Chinese counterpart and top functionaries of the Chinese army. Mr. Zhulali will have meetings with top personalities of the Chinese Government, too.

PRC Deputy Minister Arrives on Visit

LD2310213494 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 1700 GMT 23 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Chinese deputy minister of the state control department, Luo Zhiling, arrived in Tirana. In his first interview, he said: Despite the different economic structures between the two countries, the control institutions have the same function.

Besides the gaining of the experience, I have come here to lay another stone in the foundations of the friendship between Albania and China, he said.

The Chinese personality was received by the general secretary of the state control of Albania, (Arben Doxha), who explained in detail the ways the Albanian state control exerts its activity. The Chinese delegation showed interest in the control over the banks, which is a new experience for them. The Chinese delegation is to pay visits to different districts of Albania to see concretely how this control works.

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Stanchov Appointed Foreign Minister

AU2110173094 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] On 21 October President Zhelyu Zhelev issued Decree No. 213 appointing Ivan Ivanov Stanchov to serve as minister of foreign affairs in the caretaker cabinet.

The Presidency has received a note from the U.S. Department of State that informs President Zhelev that Ivan Stanchev had voluntarily relinquished his U.S. citizenship, and that as of 20 October he is no longer a U.S. citizen.

Daily Cites Gligorov's 'Treason' With Serbia

AU2410114594 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 19 Oct 94 p 10

[Commentary by Lyubcho Neshkov: "Skopje Is Not Sumadija"]

[Text] Belgrade is most concerned: There is no one to replace Kiro Gligorov. Even the honorary PhD from a U.S. university does not help. The temporary opening of the border on the part of Athens did not impress anyone. The lies proved to be too many and too embarrassing even for old Kiro. Finally, he let the cat out of the bag: "The time has come to warm up our relations with Serbia!" Thus, one could understand why the circus called elections was organized. Not that relations between the two countries have ever been cold, but Gligorov's age is rather advanced, and his intentions could remain unfulfilled.

Now it remains to be seen how Gligorov will be forced to give Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, FYROM] to Serbia as a present. However, Belgrade, Athens, and Washington made a mistake. The restoration of "Greater Serbia" would mean the end of Gligorov. The concern that has engulfed the Macedonian president in recent weeks is the clearest proof of the fact that he understands this. The fact that he elected the road of treason only reminds us of the pitiful fate of those who headed along the same road in the past. It also reminds us of the president of a certain Balkan state who tried to do everything he could to prevent the change from spreading to his country. Not only did he fail, but he was not alive long enough to see his own failure.

It is not Macedonia's responsibility that it headed down the road of change so late. The reasons are powerful and historical. It is those reasons that in the final analysis will bring freedom, which, for its part, will finally eliminate the results of the so-called 1878 Berlin Congress. This is the reason behind the attempts of the heirs to this congress' results to insistently assure us that everything is fine in the country they tore apart.

The unconditional implementation of all Serbian orders on the part of Gligorov means that the school of the Sumadija region, which produced the greatest Greater Serbia chauvinists, including Milosevic himself, has produced another worthy pupil. However, this also means that he will not be able to carry out his final Belgrade mandate to the end.

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Mission in Luanda Occupied by Angolan Troops

LD2110204694 Prague CT 1 Television Network in Czech 1830 GMT 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] According to information from circles close to the Czech Foreign Ministry, charge d'affaires (Zdenek Mrkovsky), of the Czech representative mission in the Angolan capital, Luanda, arrived in Prague today. This was his second attempt to return.

Some two weeks ago, he received a verbal note from the Angolan Government. In fact, it was an ultimatum calling on him to leave both his residence and the office building within 48 hours.

Since then, the Czech Foreign Ministry has carried out several attempts to resolve the situation. However, according to our information, a number of phone calls between Prague and Luanda were not enough to achieve this. Czech Deputy Foreign Minister Pavel Bratinka's effort to meet the Angolan foreign minister during their visit to the United Nations was also unsuccessful.

A day or two after the ultimatum's deadline, Angolan troops used force to occupy the above-mentioned buildings.

The whole story started as long ago as the 1970's, when a woman close to President Dos Santos became interested in the then Czechoslovak residence, which was known to be beautiful. The original residence was exchanged, more or less under pressure, for a smaller one. The mission office is in the center of Luanda and the residence is nearby. The Angolan Government has subsequently asked for a reciprocial arrangement in Prague, corresponding to these two buildings. They have not succeeded. The entire issue was reopened when, after November 1989, Jiri Dienstbier assumed the post of foreign minister. While talks were under way, restitutions were taking place, and the diplomatic services adminstration lost a large number of buildings. Angola did not receive a corresponding building, and the Angolan ambassador to the Czech Republic has its office in an apartment on Nad stolou Street.

When new talks started about five months, linked to the reopening of the Czech mission in Luanda, the Angolan ambassador is said to have pointed out that, following the latest election in Angola, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] asked the victorious Labor Party to have some buildings, above all in Luanda, transfered to them. It is alleged that a possibility exists that we may be asked to give up the buildings of our mission because they do not correspond to our needs.

When the Czech Mission was reopened in Luanda three months ago, Mr. (Mrkovsky) came from Beijing to assume the post of charge d'affaires. He had worked in Angola earlier, in the 1970's, and speaks excellent Portuguese. Immediately after his arrival, he started new talks, with the aim of gaining the approval of the Angolan side for our use of the two above-mentioned buildings.

However, the situation came to a head very quickly and ended with the use of force to occupy the two buildings.

This means that Angola has violated the Vienna Convention because it has refused to acknowledge the right of exterritoriality on its territory.

Angolan Ambassador Expelled

LD2410112694 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Czech Republic Foreign Ministry today expelled Manuel Quarta Punza, ambassador of the Republic of Angola to the Czech Republic. He was told that he must leave the country within three days. Four other Angolan diplomats are to leave the Czech Republic with him.

This step comes in reaction to the fact that the Czech Republic Mission in the Angolan capital of Luanda has been prevented from functioning during the past few weeks.

Despite the negative events of the past few days, the Foreign Ministry is interested in preserving good relations with the Republic of Angola.

Diplomatic Ties To Continue

LD2310203294 Prague CT 1 Television Network in Czech 1830 GMT 23 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Czech Republic is continuing to maintain diplomatic relations with Angola. However, the Czech Republic has no direct diplomatic mission in this African country, Deputy Foreign Minister Pavel Bratinka said today.

The deputy foreign minister made this statement in connection with the recent forcible occupation of the premises of the Czech Mission and the residence of the Czech charge d'affaires, Zdenek Mrkovsky, in Luanda, Angola. [passage omitted]

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GS Chief Discusses U.S. Talks, Joining NATO

LD2110163694 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 21 Oct 94

[Interview with General Jozef Tuchyna, chief of the General Staff, GS, of the Slovak Armed Forces, by Washington correspondent Peter Susko in Washington on 21 October—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Susko] As far as I know, today you had a telephone conversation with Senator Hank Brown from Colorado, who was a coauthor of the amendment authorizing the United States to render military assistance or supply military surplus to Slovakia. Of this surplus, what would be of most use to us?

[Tuchyna] This amendement does not deal with any particular surplus. It generally says that we are one of the states that has a chance of receiving this surplus. I did not discuss any surplus with Senator Brown. I thought it would be a good thing to thank him for getting involved in this matter from which Slovakia benefited. I asked him to accommodate us in this way in the future as well if this becomes necessary.

[Susko] So, are you not going to tell me what surplus items would be of most use to us?

[Tuchyna] It would be premature to talk about this for the time being because the Americans have not yet specified what will be considered surplus.

I discussed certain other issues. At this stage, it appears that we very much need some (?types) of simulators to train troops because troop training will become a more difficult and complex task, but it will be mainly a costly task.

[Susko] Politicians have a clearly defined idea about how to enlarge the NATO protective umbrella over Central and East Europe so that it also covers Slovakia. Does the military also have this view?

[Tuchyna] Politicians do not have one either. Today I had talks with a Department of State representative, (Mr. Frazer). I should say that they are currently working on the issue of individual countries joining NATO or on a general blueprint of how to join NATO. The politicians are thus not clear on this issue, either.

[Susko] And now to my question: What about the military?

[Tuchyna] Well, the military, you see, keeps making statements. I had discussions with the Chief of Army Staff, General Sullivan, and with Admiral Owens, deputy chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff. The situation as regards the military is a little simpler. The military is prepared to enlarge the NATO umbrella provided we find some common ground in communications—and I can say that about 50 percent of this common ground definitely exists. Then the military is indeed prepared.

[Susko] Here is my final question. Perhaps for you it might seem rather a lay question, but for our listeners it is undoubtedly interesting. In bygone days, we had to sign declarations and petitions so that the Soviet Union could deploy short-range missiles on our territory. Do you think it possible that NATO would deploy its own missiles on Slovakia's territory?

[Tuchyna] Any act of joining a certain entity, even NATO, as it were, will generate a legitimate need to surrender a certain part of one's sovereignty for the benefit of this entity. [passage omitted]

If we join NATO, we must count on the fact that we will have to respect some of this organizations' requirements. Therefore, if we sign an agreement to join NATO, we will have to meet the obligations we have undertaken.

That could be one of the options, although this is not how I personally see this issue at the moment because the Cold War period is over today, because the means of nuclear attack, missiles or (?tank formations) are no longer a key issue. Nowadays, the hotbeds of tension and the security risks are totally different—in particular, as far as Slovakia is concerned.

Cooperation Protocol Signed With PRC

LD2110162294 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1400 GMT 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovak Foreign Minister Eduard Kukan met Chinese Deputy Foreign Minister Dai Bingguo in Bratislava today. During their talks, they confirmed their interest in intensively developing relations between the two countries. The Chinese official and Dusan Rozbora, state secretary at the Foreign Ministry, signed a protocol on cooperation between the Slovak and Chinese Foreign Ministries.

Parties Continue Coalition Talks in Bratislava

LD2110154694 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1400 GMT 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] In Bratislava today, representatives of the coalition Movement for a Democratic Slovakia-Farmers' Party of Slovakia [HZDS-RSS] and the Joint Choice discussed the possibility of forming a new government.

The HZDS-RSS was represented by HZDS Deputy Chairman Sergej Kozlik, HZDS Secretary Ivan Lexa, and RSS Chairman Pavel Delinga. Joint Choice was represented by Chairman Peter Weiss, Deputy Chairman Pavol Kanis, and other representatives of this coalition.

If a government is really going to be formed, it can only be a cabinet of great compromise, said SDL [Party of the Democratic Left] Deputy Chairman Pavol Kanis after the talks.

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According to HZDS Deputy Chairman Sergej Kozlik, the Movement can join the government only if its position is stable or, in other words, if it has sufficient support in parliament. The HZDS is interested in Slovakia's avoiding a political crisis, Sergej Kozlik said.

From today's meeting of the two coalitions, it also ensued that there is the possibility of discussing a more precise wording of the Slovak Constitution and other legal amendments concerning the position of the president, the government, and parliament. For the time being, the issue of the HZDS and the SDL joining the government coalition has remained open.

Moravcik on Talks With Hungarian Coalition

LD2210000494 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 21 Oct 94

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik by radio editor Ludmila Bulakova on 21 October; place not given—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Bulakova] [Passage omitted] The Hungarian Coalition has suggested that a meeting between it and the current government coalition should be held just before the second meeting of officials of parliamentary parties with the parliament speaker planned for 25 October. Have you already received an invitation?

[Moravcik] We have in fact already met twice to exchange our views. We consider this to be something rather natural.

[Bulakova] According to a statement made yesterday by the chairman of the Hungarian Civic Party, the subject of your talks should be the possibility that a coalition government may be formed consisting of the current government coalition partners and the Hungarian Coalition. Do you see this as a realistic option?

[Moravcik] [passage omitted] If the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] fails to form a government, a substitute solution must be found. In that case, the above solution would be one of the possible solutions.

[Bulakova] Do you, Prime Minister, share the view that Slovakia seems more likely to declare a new election than to form a stable government?

[Moravcik] [passage omitted] I think this should only be considered after exhausting all chances of forming a stable government for a four-year term because this is a priority. In my view, to speculate at present about a new election is hazardous.

On SDL Reservations

LD2110201994 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] We have asked Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik, chairman of the Democratic Union of Slovakia [DU], to respond to a statement made by Pavol Kanis, deputy chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL], that the SDL made a mistake in joining the present coalition government.

[Begin recording] [Moravcik] As prime minister, I cannot judge the statement made by Mr. Kanis because the statement assesses the situation within the SDL. It is up to the SDL to assess this entire period as it views it.

I am not familiar with any official SDL statement that would support the view expressed by Mr. Kanis.

[Unidentified reporter] And, if you were to judge this statement as the DU chairman, that is from the position of the coalition partner in this government?

[Moravcik] I think that all those who joined the government in March of this year did so with full responsibility, acknowledging that this was in Slovakia's interest. I believe that even the short period the government has had to do its work has proved that the decision was correct. It was necessary to calm down the situation, it was necessary to deal with the crisis that emerged in parliament at that time. These last six months have proved that Slovakia is a country that has gained respect in the world and that it is able to resolve its problems in a civilized way. The economic results are basically positive, even to the extent that some people are surprised by Slovakia's economic results. Therefore, I cannot agree with any assessment that would cast doubt on the results acheived in the near past. [end recording]

MOS: Possibility of Forming 'Civic Government'

AU2410114394 Bratislava SME in Slovak 21 Oct 94 p 3

[Article by "(dos)": "There Is a Possibility of Forming a Civic Government"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—At a press briefing held yesterday, Hungarian Civic Party [MOS] Chairman L. Nagy welcomed the decision of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] to break off talks with the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]. According to him, the KDH was the balance on the scales that could have made the decision on forming a stable majority government with the HZDS. In the opinion of Nagy, however, it has been confirmed by this decision that "there is still a real possibility of forming a civic government." The civic government would be formed without the HZDS and would probably also be a minority government, although the MOS chairman did not rule out the possibility that the Association of Workers of Slovakia would support it. Nagy sees the advantages of a civic government in that it would follow up on developments until 1992 and the past six months under the Moravcik government, that it would be a government of democratic means that does not create tension, and that the involvement of the Hungarian Coalition in it would be an important signal for West

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Europe that Slovakia is moving in a democratic direction and that the ethnic majority is capable of cooperating with the ethnic minority. Nagy views the conclusions reached by the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] Republican Council on 15 October as a rejection of the option of going into a government with the HZDS. Nagy described this as a wise decision that is in the interest of the SDL.

Meciar on Timetable of Government Formation

LD2210173794 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 22 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Vladimir Meciar, chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], believes that a new government will be formed after the first meeting of the new parliament on 3 November. Meciar said this in Bratislava today in an interview for TASR.

Responding to a question as to how he assesses the statement made yesterday by Pavol Kanis, deputy chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left, the HZDS chairman said that Kanis has only confirmed Meciar's words from the time when the government was dismissed. In his statement made yesterday, Kanis said that, in his view, it was a historical mistake on the part of the SDL to support the dismissal of the Vladimir Meciar government in March of this year.

Meciar described the fact that the Christian Democratic Movement has decided to end its talks with the HZDS on forming the coalition government and go into opposition as the right of that party. At the same time, he said that nobody is too eager to join a government that will have to deal with the situation brought about by Jozef Moravcik's Cabinet.

Moravcik Discusses Privatization, Farm Subsidies

LD2110194194 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 21 Oct 94

[Weekly interview with Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik by radio editor Ludmila Bulakova; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Bulakova] Prime minister, another week has gone by. Figuratively speaking, your government is serving extra time. Once again, the government has been much criticized for continuing privatization. Your letter dated 21 September said in reply to the parliament chairman's request to temporarily suspend the privatization process until the new government is formed that the government adopted the last decision on corporate privatization on 6 September and, by doing so, conformed with the parliament chairman's request. But the reality is that, at the two cabinet sessions following the election, your Cabinet approved additional decisions on corporate privatization. How can this contradiction between words and deeds be explained?

[Moravcik] There is no contradiction, I think. The point is that, although the government, as you yourself said, is serving extra time, it still has full powers. But I would tend to see this matter not from the point of view of powers but from that of responsibility. The government is fully responsible for ensuring the course of public affairs in their entirety, and privatization is a part of it.

We pledged—and this was our own pledge—not to make privatization decisions during the election campaign. We did not want privatization to be a part of the election campaign because it would make the entire and already greatly dramatized privatization process even more dramatic.

[Bul[illegible]] Does this mean that your reply to Mr. Gasp[illegible]vic's letter really meant that you halted privatization only for the duration of the preelection period?

[Moravcik] This was our plan. This means that, after the election, during this period, especially when it is appearing that the process of forming a government will not be very simple and that it will take some time, delaying privatization would indeed be irresponsible. It would be irresponsible also because of our economic policy plans, which concern the National Property Fund.

It would be irresponsible also vis-a-vis investors who are taking part in the privatization process because the projects they selected were assessed long ago and were properly prepared. [passage omitted]

The companies that are still facing privatization are behaving in a totally different way. The description of preprivatization agony fits the bill, and protracting this agony is having a very unfavorable impact on the economy.

I would like to say once again that, because of these considerations, not to continue privatization would be irresponsible.

[Bulakova] I will now take up the issue of the obligations of the National Property Fund to farmers. On Wednesday, the presidium of the Slovak Agriculture and Foodstuff Chamber issued a statement expressing indignation and strong dissatisfaction with the fact that the government has failed to fulfill its own resolution of 13 September on releasing, by the end of September, 785 million korunas [Sk] to it as partial compensation for the consequences of an extraordinary drought. According to the latest information, this money is being blocked by the Finance Ministry.

I will repeat a question formulated by farmers in reaction to this situation: Has the cabinet become indifferent following the election, or is the Finance Ministry intentionally failing to respect the government's resolution?

[Moravcik] Of course, the Finance Ministry must respect the government's resolution. However, the money you spoke about—Sk785 million—is not coming from the Finance Ministry's resources. It is part of the Sk3.5

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billion earmarked by the government for development projects, the development of our agriculture. It is coming from the National Property Fund.

This means that, unless we achieve progress in privatization, unless we gain money for the National Property Fund, we will not have resources to provide this Sk785 million for farmers. This is very simple. [passage omitted]

[Bulakova] Is it at all realistic to assume that farmers will get their money this year?

[Moravcik] I can tell you that it is a realistic assumption because we have, more or less, specified how to gain this money. [passage omitted]

'Very Low' Turnout for Privatization Referendum

AU2210143494 Paris AFP in English 1142 GMT 22 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bratislava, Oct 22 (AFP)—Slovakian voters greeted with widespread apathy Saturday morning [22 October] a referendum on privatisations in Slovakia taking place less than a month after the country voted in general elections.

"Turnout is very low, much lower than three weeks ago," a member of the Electoral Commission in Petrzalka, a heavily-populated district of Bratislava, told AFP two hours after the polling station opened at 0600 GMT. He said only eight voters had turned up so far.

The referendum, the first to be held since Slovakia became independent on January 1 1993, needs the participation of at least half of its 3.8 million registered voters to be valid. It takes place in a climate of political uncertainty as parties are still negotiating to form a government in the wake of the elections.

Voters were being asked whether they were in favour of a law being adopted requiring the origin of money used in privatisations to be disclosed.

From questioning the few people leaving the polling station, it looked as though the people who had bothered to turn out had voted "yes" while the "no" camp had stayed at home.

"Why work all your life only to see someone buy what you have created with stolen money, or money of dubious legality?" a retired man of 70 told AFP.

Most of the people who turned out Saturday appeared to have voted on October 1 for Vladimir Meciar's nationalist HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia], which won the general elections and supported the referendum proposed by the association of Slovak Workers Movement (ZRS).

The right and centre parties opposed the referendum on the grounds that, at two million dollars, it was a costly, useless and demagogic exercise.

Polling stations were to close at 2100 GMT and the first results known by 0900 GMT Sunday.

Foreign Investors Reassured

LD2210190694 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 22 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A referendum on the origin of money used in auctions and privatization is taking place in Slovakia today. Our special correspondent Martin Dorazin reports from Bratislava:

[Dorazin] So far, there has been only a low turnout for the referendum, but polling stations are open until 2200. The results of the referendum are to be announced late on Sunday morning. However, the referendum will be valid only if over 50 percent of those entitled to vote take part. [passage omitted]

The deputies are not obliged to respect the referendum results. This fact was mentioned today by Slovak President Michal Kovac after he had cast his vote.

Following his vote, Vladimir Meciar said that the retroactive validity of the law is problematic. However, retroactive validity does not apply to foreign investors, and therefore they do not need to worry. According to Meciar, the current law, based on affidavits, in fact gives an instruction on how to get around the law. The chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia envisages that citizens will vote yes in the referendum.

Unofficial Results

LD2310101094 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0830 GMT 23 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Central Referendum Commission held a session in Bratislava yesterday evening [22 October] and noted that the referendum on adopting a law on proving the origin of the money used in privatization and auctions passed without any great problem. [passage omitted]

However, according to unofficial information published by the Press Agency of the Slovak Republic [TASR] less than an hour ago, the result of yesterday's referendum is invalid. Of the overall number of Slovak citizens entitled to vote, only 19.96 percent of the electorate exercised this right. Of that 19.96 percent, 93.64 percent voted in favor of adopting the bill.

The official results will be announced when (Eduard Simko) the chairman of the Central Referendum Commission delivers the commission's protocol to parliament speaker Ivan Gasparovic.

Party Leaders React

LD2310155694 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1400 GMT 23 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] With regard to the results of the privatization referendum, Jan Carnogursky, chairman of

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the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], told TASR that the expenses incurred by the referendum were the first contribution made by the Association of Workers of Slovakia since it joined Slovakia's political scene. The KDH chairman added that the low turnout merely confirmed that the referendum was futile.

Vojtech Bugar, chairman of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement, speaking in an interview for TASR, pondered about the fact that those who suggested the referendum neither ran a media campaign on the aim of the referendum nor appealed to citizens to take part in it. Vojtech Bugar added that a question should be asked now about who will bear the responsibility for the expenses incurred.

Miroslav Kocnar, first deputy chairman of the ZRS, said in an interview for TASR, that the referendum results mean that the ZRS will have to use parliamentary means to enforce the obligation to prove the origin of the money used in privatization.

Luptak Disappointed

LD2310211594 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 2030 GMT 23 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Jan Luptak, chairman of the Association of Workers of Slovakia, said he was disappointed by the results of the vote in the 22 October referendum. He said he was not giving up though.

Luptak said the referendum failed because there had been no campaign, the press gave space to the destructive policy of those who did not want the referendum, and, on top of that, there had been some problems concerning the polling stations.

Luptak and his party colleagues will try in parliament to push through an amendment to the currently valid law on the need to prove the origin of the money earmarked for privatization, which would provide also for the retroactive validity of this law.

Interior Minister Reports Crime Statistics

LD2210165494 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] In Slovakia, 107,921 crimes were committed between January and the end of September of this year. Of this number, the police successfuly resolved 38 percent.

Interior Minister Ladislav Pittner revealed this at a news conference in Bratislava today. He added that, during the past nine months, the proportion of crimes resolved rose by 9.6 percent. In his view, this success can be attributed to the organizational changes in the police corps.

Minister Pittner went on to say that policemen recently apprehended several drug dealers, as well as dealers in radioactive materials, weapons, and stolen cars. The success in fighting internationally organized crime could be even greater, but Slovakia is short 4,700 policemen because of insufficient financial resources.

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Foreign Minister Seeks To Strengthen CSCE Role

BR2110133594 Brussels LA LIBRE BELGIQUE in French 20 Oct 94 p 5

[Interview with Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs by Michel Rosten in Brussels on 19 October: "Hungarian Foreign Minister Pleads his Case in Brussels"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Rosten] Does your country believe that, since the NATO summit of last January, the U.S. Administration now looks more favorably on enlarging the alliance and that Hungary therefore has a better chance of joining?

[Kovacs] Yes, we do have the impression that the U.S. position has changed. For example, you could quote the formula stated by President Clinton who said that the question is no longer whether to enlarge the alliance, but of "knowing when and how." For the time being, NATO is less concerned with the effect of the enlargement on the organization itself than the effect this would have on its environment, and on Russia in particular. The most important thing is knowing whether or not NATO will be able to find a suitable way of dealing with the Russian problem, i.e. relations between the alliance and Russia. We believe that there is a method for overcoming this difficulty, permanent dialogue with Russia and collaboration with that country within the NATO Consultative Council.

[Rosten] You are about to assume the CSCE presidency. Do you agree with the Kremlin's view that this organization should have its own security council?

[Kovacs] I do not think it is necessary to create new structures within the CSCE. It would be better instead to breathe more life into those structures that already exist.

[Rosten] What aims will you be pursuing during your presidency?

[Kovacs] We would like the summit conference (to be held in Budapest at the start of December) to precisely analyze the current situation in Europe and then adapt the real CSCE operation to this analysis. We must also strengthen the CSCE in its role of setting the standards. In this perspective, we should draw up a code of behavior and develop the methods and techniques used to preempt crises, deal with them, and implement a policy of rehabilitation when these crises have subsided.

Particular stress should be laid on the preventive aspect. Moreover, the CSCE should take its place among the European security structures and bring its activities in line with those of the major international institutions: the European Union, and therefore the Western European Union, NATO, of course, the United Nations, and also the Council of Europe.

[Rosten] The Hungarian authorities think that it is very important to harmonize their relations with their neighbors, such as Romania and Slovakia. In this perspective, you even went with [Hungarian Prime Minister] Horn to Bratislava. However, the elections brought [Slovak Prime Minister] Meciar back to the fore in Slovakia and he could form a government with the nationalists. Does not this possibility risk posing you a few problems?

[Kovacs] The position initially taken by Hungary is to deal with the Slovak Government that was elected by the people. Even if, on the personal level, I can feed the fires of consternation, my only aim as a minister is to strike an agreement. Moreover, I am convinced that Slovakia, as well as Romania, is interested in normalizing relations. We have a common aim: That of becoming integrated in Europe.

President Goncz Addresses 1956 Commemoration

LD2310205994 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1817 GMT 23 Oct 94

[Speech by President Arpad Goncz at a concert commemorating the events of 1956 in the Budapest Opera House—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The first law I signed in my capacity as president was about the commemoration of 1956. I was glad to see that day, and I was glad that it was I who could authorize that law with my signature. I was glad, but this happiness was not unclouded. At the last minute, the name of Imre Nagy [prime minister during 1956, executed in 1958] was left out of the text of the law. His death, his fidelity to his nation and his people—both of which have become a symbol—have been indelibly printed into the history of the revolution and of Hungary and into the heart of the nation. [passage omitted]

It has been proved in our recent past for the second time that every authoritarian government—be it left-wing or right-wing—hates to say the word: revolution, because it is never in favor of a regime, but it is always severe and works according to its own laws. [passage omitted]

Let us be honest: We have managed to cool down the revolution and everybody has tried to carve something out of it that can be turned to profit. Profit? Since 1989, Hungary's self-determination has no longer been just a word, a mere self-deception. Without 1956, we could not even have gotten this far, and we could not have achieved the respect of Europe and the world. [passage omitted]

Horn Addresses World Federation of Hungarians

LD2110195994 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1900 GMT 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Gyula Horn has confirmed at the first delegates' meeting of the World Federation of Hungarians that his government will never abandon the Hungarians living beyond the border. He said, however, that it is also important that Hungary have good relations with the neighboring states.

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Sandor Csoori, chairman of the federation, was of the view that basic treaties with neighboring countries raise a very delicate historical problem, because our country has had to conclude such agreements with five countries.

Laszlo Tokes, bishop of the Bucea church district, cautioned against sham reconciliation with neighbors.

Arpad Goncz greeted the conference in a telegram.

IMF Director Camdessus Cited on Budget Deficit

LD2110153194 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The head of the IMF, who is staying in Hungary, has emphasized the importance of dialogue with various strata of society. Julia Szamado reports from his press briefing:

[Szamado] IMF Managing Director Michel Camdessus welcomed the three-party system, i.e., that the Interest Coordination Council participates in analyzing the country's situation and shaping the future. For, he said, only if all three of them see it together is it possible to agree that the cause of the budget deficit is that the country spends more than it produces; Hungary's competitiveness has also slowed down in recent years.

The IMF managing director expounded that privatization is important but it alone cannot achieve the financial (?plan) of the budget. The measures to reform the oft-mentioned expenditure side of the state budget and to eliminate the deficit of the Social Insurance budget cannot be avoided either.

SZDSZ Chairman on Coalition Cooperation

LD2210180994 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 21 Oct 94

[Interview with SZDSZ Chariman Ivan Peto by Karoly Avar; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

[Peto] The differences of views within the party are related not to views on embourgeoisement, but rather on the means of implementing the aims, which can be regarded as Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] aims, or which from another aspect can be described as embourgeoisement.

I still think that if the SZDSZ was not part of the present coalition, it would practically mean that the chance for embourgeoisement—which prevails in the current coalition—would be dropped and we would only represent our norms, and allow that a party which puts more emphasis on modernization, at least in words, and which does not necessarily consider embourgeoisement to be one of its basic norms—that is the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP]—would alone govern the country. [passage omitted]

[Avar] There is an opinion—Peter Tolgyessy said something similar—that 100 days have passed and almost nothing has happened. [passage omitted] How do you assess the performance of the coalition and your party's scope for influencing it over the past 100 days?

[Peto] It is clear from the government program—and from the SZDSZ program, too—that we consider 1994 as a year in which only corrections can be made to decisions which were made by the previous government. In addition, we can only prepare decisions to be made next year. Therefore, I do not see any basic arrears. [passage omitted]

[Avar] [Passage omitted] Why do the former opposition parties, which now have a 72 percent majority in parliament, not adopt a media bill, why can they not find a way in which Hungarian radio and television can become entirely independent from the present government, from the next government, and even the one after that?

[Peto] Our position on the matter of independence has not changed since the time when we were in opposition. We continue to represent the view that the supervision and management of state radio and television has to be distanced from the government, from parliament, and from political parties. That is to say, politics must not be allowed to interfere directly in these matters. Now this is one of the main topics disputed with the HSP. For me it seems that the HSP's position, compared to the talks on the media bill—that is compared to the past two and one-half months—has now changed for some reason.

[Avar] [Passage omitted] Are you determined that you do not make concessions as a coalition partner, even if it could be the coalition's split test? [passage omitted]

[Peto] We have marked out the borders, how far we can go with regard to compromise. That is to say, I think in this matter—the media matter—the possibility of allowing the government to have a say in the operation of radio and television is beyond this point. This is a cornerstone. I do not intend to deal with the question of whether this affects the entire coalition or not.

Unfortunately, we can exist without a media law. The situation is very bad, since it leads to great uncertainty, and it has led to a lot of conflicts over the past two years. This is not a kind of matter like the annual budget, to the effect that if it is not approved the country's economy will stop or basic functional problems will occur. That is why I do not wish to deal with the question of what will happen to the coalition as a whole if we cannot agree on this point. However, we cannot give up this basic principle.

Further on SZDSZ Meeting

LD2210182894 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 22 Oct 94

[Report by Judit Laszlo on the SZDSZ delegates' meeting in Budapest on 22 October]

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[FBIS Translated Text] The Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] delegates had no more substantial issues to discuss, because, as the party leaders said, the coalition government has no alternative today. Thus it was no surprise that the delegates rejected Ferenc Koeszeg's proposal for an extraordinary meeting next spring to evaluate the performance of the coalition government. Nearly everyone spoke about hitches in the operation and coordination shortages. Gabor Kuncze, the prime minister's coalition deputy, stressed that the possibility of making compromises with the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] should be sought. This, however, cannot mean that the SZDSZ is losing its identity in the coalition, for it is a party which exercises independent politics.

A kind of uncertainty, however, could be sensed at the delegates' meeting. It was worded by Janos Kis, former chairman.

According to him, every party entering a coalition is exposed to the danger of drifting. It can drift with its coalition partner, the state apparatus and its own weaknesses. An example for the latter is the fact that the SZDSZ drifted into an amendment of the law on local governments which cannot be justified despite the fact that it was initiated by the party. It is the opposition's task to say this, but it is true that it is improper to amend laws two months before the elections, and amending the Constitution requires six-party coordination, said Janos Kis.

The only important decision was that the delegates reelected the party's executives with three changes. Gabor Kuncze, Gabor Demszky, and Zoltan Kis became new members of the body.

Attila Karoly Soos, Gabriella Beki, and Peter Toelgyessy—the latter two did not accept nomination anyway—left the body of executives. The delegates' meeting did not amend the statutes in some important points either, because there was no quorum at the voting.

Further Remarks by Chairman

LD2210211894 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 22 Oct 94

[Interview with SZDSZ Chairman Ivan Peto by unidentified studio announcer at the MTV studios in Budapest—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] The reelected chairman of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], Ivan Peto, is our studio guest. Good evening.

[Peto] Good evening.

[Announcer] Mr. Chairman, in the view of Janos Kis, the former party chairman, the SZDSZ has got mixed up in law amendments which in his words will not be justifiable even in the future. If this is what you [plural] think, then why did you enter into it? [reference to recent law amendments on local governments]

[Peto] I have said on quite a few occasions that we entered into it in good faith—we are here talking about the amendment of the local government laws. In the course of preliminary interparty coordination talks it did not emerge unequivocally—or even not at all—that the opposition parties would not accept that there was a need for this kind of legislative amendment. [reference to opposition walkout during parliamentary voting]

[Announcer] At the delegates' assembly Peter Hack [member of SZDSZ executive body] proposed that the SZDSZ should not make any kind of constitution amendment and should not enter into it one year prior to the enacting of the new constitution. If that is going to be the case, then what will be the future of the coalition [with the Hungarian Socialist Party, HSP]?

[Peto] The coalition does not stand or fall on the amendment of the constitution. At least, I hope that in order for a coalition to function it is not necessary to amend the constitution. Incidentally, Peter Hack is in agreement with the SZDSZ; so this was not a private opinion. What he outlined here was that our opinion is that until next year, or until there is a chance for the creation of a new constitution, constitutional amendments should only occur if there is a six-party agreement.

[Announcer] But what if the HSP would nevertheless like to carry out an amendment of this kind during this period?

[Peto] I don't think that the HSP would be all that keen to keep amending the constitution. But a constitution amendment requires two thirds in parliament. At this moment only one constitution amendment can be seen on the horizon: in the matter of the ombudsman, the minority ombudsman, and to my knowledge there is a six-party agreement on this.

[Announcer] Thank you very much.

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Misunderstandings Between Pawlak, Walesa in U.S.

WS2410122194 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 24 Oct 94 p 2

[Article by Tomasz Wroblewski from Buffalo and the PS: "Without Breakfast Together; Organizational Disorder and Mutual Competition"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Misunderstandings started as early as when rooms in the hotel were to be chosen. After lengthy negotiations, the president received the better room on the 16th floor, and Pawlak got a room that was not so good on the 15th floor. The politicians did not have breakfast together.

The organizational disorder related to the preparation of the visit in such a short time was aggravated by the competition between the two politicians.

Yesterday afternoon, the president expressed hope that domestic political animosities would not be shown abroad in the future. "We must regulate these matters; we must clearly divide the powers among the government, the Sejm, and the president."

According to Walesa, despite all of those political games, his stay in the United States was necessary. "I could not do this to the Polonia," he declared, and reiterated that the prime minister represents only the leftist forces, which the Polonia, which has fought against communism for years, finds difficult to reconcile.

The president and the prime minister also held separate meetings with Senator Brown, the author of the famous amendment that can speed up Poland's integration into NATO.

Walesa, who was the first to speak with Brown, handed the senator an old sword, made in 1936, to show his appreciation for his help for Poland.

Then Senator Brown took advantage of his 20-minute meeting with Prime Minister Pawlak to express his concern over the slowing down of the privatization reforms and over problems of foreign corporations investing in Poland.

Before arriving in Buffalo, the prime minister held a series of controversial meetings with private companies in New York and Detroit, where he went in a General Motors private plane.

In New York he met with, among others, the directors of the Chase Manhattan Bank, which tried to exert pressure on Pawlak to grant it a banking license.

People who were traveling with the prime minister also drew attention to a number of major organizational shortcomings. Pawlak was late for most of his meetings. Other meetings turned out to have been canceled at the last moment. Some of the talks were quite accidental and way below the rank of the prime minister.

After the ceremonies, in a private plane provided by Ameritech, Pawlak left for Chicago, where he met with Mayor Jim Edgar and representatives of private companies, including Ameritech, which is applying for a license for a cellular phone system in Poland.

The politicians we have questioned differ in their evaluations of developments in Buffalo. Longin Pastusiak, deputy chairman of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee and a member of the Democratic Left Alliance, stressed the necessity of better coordination of activities abroad. However, he will not say who is to blame for the "American scandal."

"Poland cannot afford to pursue one foreign policy and then another foreign policy," he says. "By providing conflicting statements, we only send wrong signals, thus weakening the effectiveness of Poland's activities."

However, Bogdan Borusewicz, of the Freedom Union, does not have any difficulty finding the culprit.

"I would be willing to justify the president's stand," he says. "However, it is with anxiety that I am watching Pawlak move on the international scene. It can be seen clearly that he does not want to use the services of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. When he organizes a foreign visit, he uses the services of either private companies or the Office of the Council of Ministers. This is unacceptable."

Walesa Says 'No Rivalry'

LD2310174894 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1105 GMT 23 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] During President Walesa and Prime Minister Pawlak's stay in Buffalo, two news conferences of both politicians were organized almost at the same time yesterday. The prime minister's meeting with journalists began at 1630 hours. Journalists learned during the conference that President Walesa called his news conference half an hour later in a different venue. In effect, the majority of Polish journalists left before the end of the meeting with Prime Minister Pawlak and hurried to President Walesa's hotel appartment.

When asked about the matter, the president said he did not know about Pawlak's conference and did not know the program of the prime minister's visit. The president is of the opinion that the fact that his visit coincided with the stay of the head of the government does not mean there is any rivalry between him and the prime minister.

[Begin Walesa recording] There is no rivalry whatsoever. But let us consider a basic issue. After all, the Polish community here was fighting for a free and noncommunist Poland. Pawlak is not a communist, but he originates from and is taking part in the postcommunist structures. Could the democratically elected president of a free country, won among others by the Polonia, offer such a gift to the Polish community in the United States?

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Rather not. So, my presence here was absolutely necessary when we had to say thank you and, at the same time, to consider how we are going to carry on in taking care of matters that are important. [end recording]

Further on Generals' Testimony on Drawsko

WS2110115994 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Oct 94 p 2

[Article by Z.L.: "Was There a Vote in Drawsko or Not? Generals With Amnesia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Defense Minister Piotr Koloszejczyk and four top generals of the General Staff [SG], headed by General Tadeusz Wilecki, SG head, have testified before a special Sejm subcommittee investigating the crisis in the Ministry of National Defense [MON]. However, the subcommittee's deputies conceded yesterday that they have not been able to determine what actually happened in Drawsko.

It is not known whether, during the dinner at Karwice, in front of the president, the generals held a formal vote concerning the recall of Kolodziejczyk. The minister described these developments quite unambiguously several days ago: "On the motion submitted by the president, all hands were raised except two."

An analysis of public statements on this case made by President Lech Walesa bears out the "ministerial" version of events—that is, what the commanders have completely forgotten. "The generals unanimously agree that there was no formal vote, that fish was served as a first course, and that problems of the Army were discussed, including the possibilities of cooperation between various structures within MON. Aside from that, the generals' statements concerning even the same events and reactions sometimes differed quite a bit," says Tomasz Nalecz of the Union of Labor. Deputy Bronislaw Komorowski of the Freedom Union makes the following analysis: "Even though only a few weeks have passed since the Drawsko meeting, we are witnessing a process of rapid memory loss."

"The last time I voted was last September," says General Edmund Bolociuch, first deputy to the SG head, who was the first to testify before the committee, in line with the superiority principle. Several hours after that, Gen. Leon Komornicki, head of the Training Inspectorate in the SG, who left the room last, repeated the same words. According to Deputy Nalecz, the version presented by General Zbigniew Zalewski, who is in charge of logistics affairs in the SG (who, in line with some information, abstained from the Drawasko vote), followed the same pattern. The generals deny that in Karwice they had refused allegiance to the civilian minister. Incidentally, they themselves are unanimously in favor of democratic control over the Armed Forces.

Deputy Nalecz says that a lot seems to suggest that the military officials of the highest leadership of the Army were really taken aback by the developments that took place in the stained-glass-window hall of the Karwice premises. Instead of what actually happened, they probably expected an exchange of impressions after the morning's military shows and exercises. However, they found themselves in a heated political debate. "The commotion after what happened in the presence of the commander in chief of the Armed Forces was so great that no one remembers today what they ate right after that—for example, as the second course."

In default of an unambiguous picture of the Drawsko events, the deputies decided to interrogate all participants at the dinner. Apart from the president, whose stand the commission already knows from numerous press reports, the subcommittee wants to listen to what the other generals have to say: General Tadeusz Bazydlo, head of the Pomeranian Military District; General Zenon Bryk, head of the Krakow Military District; General Julian Lewinski, head of the Warsaw Military District; General Janusz Ornatowski, head of the Silesian Military District; and General Jerzy Gotowala, head of the Air Force and Air Defense. The committee will also want to interrogate Vice Admiral Romuald Waga, which will be possible next week, after he returns from abroad. As the committee's chairman, Jerzy Szmajdzinski, of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], said on 20 October, he already personally got in touch with Mieczyslaw Wachowski, minister of state in the President's Chancellery, and asked him for an interview with the committee. In the next few days, however, the head of Lech Walesa's office will be busy preparing the president's visit to the United States. "I am also seeking contact with General Bishop Slawoj Leszek Glodz, who also took part in the dinner in question," Szmajdzinski said yesterday. The subcommittee is not an establishment pursuing a formal investigation. Therefore, testifying in front of it is an expression of goodwill and, according to SLD's Leszek Bugaj, of an officer's honor.

"Regardless of the fact that it has been very difficult so far to determine the truth," Tomasz Nalecz says, "one can already today draw the conclusion that in a democratic state, such vague mechanisms of making cadre changes should be eliminated." "It is inadmissible not to consult on the decision as it actually happened—that is, in a royal manner. The president's role in the Drawsko case raises serious doubts—exactly from the point of the mechanisms of the functioning of the decisionmaking process at the vital levels of the most important institutions of the Polish Republic," Nalecz evaluates.

Walesa on Presidential Role, Current Issues

MM2410093094 Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 12 Oct 94 p 3

["Extracts" from an interview with Lech Walesa, president of the Polish Republic, by correspondents Marek Formela (chief editor, GLOS WYBRZEZA), Tadeusz Wozniak (deputy chief editor, WIECZOR WYBRZEZA), Zbigniew Zukowski (TYGODNIK TROJMIASTO), and an unidentified correspondent from

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GLOS SZCZECINSKI; interview was conducted at Walesa's private residence in Gdansk on 9 October]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Last Sunday, Polish President Lech Walesa gave an interview at his house on Polanki Street, Gdansk, to three Gdansk journalists: Marek Formela (GLOS WYBRZEZA), Tadeusz Woznlak (WIECZOR WYBRZEZA), and Zbigniew Zukowski (TYGODNIK TROJMIASTO). Below are extensive fragments of that conversation.*

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] "I know very well what I want. I have a vision, and I am capable of putting many things in order, of turning Poland into the country we want. I am able to maneuver all these things about and win them all, but I must not waste my efforts by engaging in useless and stupid games that are played at plenums and presidia...."

[Walesa] These sound like my words—are they?

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] Indeed they are. Mr. President, that was what you said 14 years ago. However, today some people believe that there is too much politics and too many "boxing matches" at the top and too little work being done on legislation and the economy.

[Walesa] I have not changed my precepts or my concepts. Those plans were very well suited to the times in which they were drawn. But, in 1981, there was enthusiasm, and we were not divided. On the other hand, by 1989 my plans stood no chance of being realized. And that is why I drew my conclusion: I would let the first term of office ride—to let the politicians and, in particular, the whole nation, understand that, if we are ever to realize what I had originally stipulated, we should settle for the appropriate system, one that is more efficient and, as I emphasized so many times, will be based on supreme presidential power. But the nation was divided, and it was necessary to give it five years so that, after a period of observation, the people could choose whether they wanted a parliamentary system just like the one we have now—that is, long-winded, full of internal conflicts, incompetent, and with many other drawbacks following from the very nature of the arrangement. This is not to say that the parliamentary system may not prove to be better than others. However, for the period of reconstruction and major challenges, the presidential system is definitely better, with its quick decisions and the chance to put these decisions into practice. If the Polish people decide they want to have the kind of system we have now—that is, nonpresidential—well, they will have the system that is in operation now. I would prefer it to be different.

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] But these quick decisions are sometimes just too quick. People find themselves surprised by them, and they do not understand them.

[Walesa] If my decisions were always clear and intelligible, they would not provoke discussion. And that would be contrary to the concept I have chosen, which is designed to make the people wake up and say what they have to say—in short, to make them join in the debate and define their positions. If we had no challenges of that kind, if I made no unexpected moves, there would be no discussion at all. And so we have exactly the situation we want.

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] Are you not concerned about the fact that the price of such a policy and the price you have to pay in terms of your personal popularity is that negative opinions proliferate, and the view that you are a "president of destruction" is beginning to gain ground? Do you take that price into account?

[Walesa] Yes. But you must also take into account the current opportunities for action that are open to the president, and his position in the current power system. In effect, all he can do is declare his veto. He can only act by dissenting rather than by taking positive action. Such are today's political realities. I take advantage of them in order to demonstrate that they should be different. I know that very often people do not like this. They would prefer to have peace and quiet and situations that are easy to interpret, without the need to listen to a lot of empty babble. But we cannot hope to avoid these in the present system.

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] When you use the term "system," do you mean the Constitution because the Constitution defines the principles of the functioning of power?

[Walesa] Yes, I do. All that will have to be resolved one way or another before the passing of the next Constitution and the launching of the new presidential election. And, in the meantime, I have to bring to light a variety of issues, which does not exactly enhance my popularity. But that only happens when there is a lack of understanding of what I actually mean to say. And what I mean to say is that we should choose the correct system.

I pity anyone who would choose to be president in the system that is in force here now because it is senseless: unclear situations, unintelligible solutions, and quarrels. I want the Polish people to take a good look at the whole thing and then decide what kind of system they want.

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] Before you set off on your visit to the Netherlands, you announced that as soon as you came back you would proceed to make some determined and dangerous moves. Now that you are back, would you tell us what these moves will entail?

[Walesa] It was one of the journalists who said that my moves are dangerous. My answer to this is that I have always made dangerous moves and that I still intend to make them. I address myself to specific questions, and I demonstrate what is correct and what is not. At present, such topical "issues of the day" are provided by the unfinished business of the National Radio and Television Council and the Armed Forces, which have already been given a rap on the knuckles.

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[GLOS WYBRZEZA] Mr. President, your phrasing is very mild here....

[Walesa] I am supreme commander of the Armed Forces but only in name because, in reality, I have no say there at all. And that is why we must make up our minds whether the Armed Forces should be subordinate to parliament, to the government, which will always be political, or to the president, who is elected by the people and who is not as political as all that because he must unite the whole nation. I understand the Armed Forces, and I am convinced that, in the administrative and political sense, they should be run by the ministry, but the command—that is, the position of chief of staff—should be within the president's remit, because such a situation is more precise and more clear....

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] And that is the essence of the dispute that has been going on during the past few days, and whose chief protagonists are Minister Kolodziejczyk, General Wilecki, and, in a certain sense, you, Mr. President. Is that not right?

[Walesa] Exactly right. Although, perhaps, the people involved should not be called protagonists because it is a struggle for control of the system, but simply witnesses to these developments by virtue of their place in the system.

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] This suggests that there is a difference of opinion between Minister Kolodziejczyk and Gen. Wilecki and that they represent two mutually opposed concepts of the military system. Is that correct?

[Walesa] Precisely so. An additional dimension to the problem is that Kolodziejczyk is a soldier, that he spent all his life as a soldier, and that, just like the soldier he is, he would like to have everything under his control. He would also like to see the chief of staff subordinate to the minister. I understand him in his role as a soldier. On the other hand, I am a politician, and I know that, if we were to agree to that idea, in due time very different ministers might come to assume the post (and we have seen that happen before), and then politics would invade the Armed Forces and cause some very explosive situations. If the president is chosen not by parliament but by the whole nation, the chief of the General Staff should be subordinate to the president because that guarantees better stability and precision of command. And that is what the whole dispute is about.

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] Gen. Wilecki has just fallen ill and been given 10 days' sick leave. Is that somehow associated with the present dispute?

[Walesa] I know that Gen. Wilecki would prefer not to be involved in a political contest. He would want the whole thing to be resolved at the level of a debate about the system, without the involvement of personal positions and ambitions. So he has found himself in an awkward situation.

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] Decidedly awkward....

[Walesa] Journalists should appreciate that the chief of staff does not want to be the chief protagonist in matters involving personnel appointments. He wants the whole matter to be sorted out by politicians, without the Armed Forces being dragged in as well.

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] It is rumored that Minister Kolodziejczyk is your man—indeed, that he owes his whole political existence to the president....

[Walesa] Indeed, it is rather unusual for people who had been pushed aside to come back to that level of power. In that particular case, my reasoning was as follows: He is a soldier. As chief of staff he was badly treated by a minister....

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] You mean by Minister Parys....

[Walesa] Yes, specifically by Parys. And I was convinced that Kolodziejczyk, who had, after all, personally experienced the consequences of political games in the Armed Forces, would put things in order there and not permit any repetitions of the same trouble. But it did not turn out that way. He approaches the problem in much the same way that Parys did, and he would like to have the chief of staff subordinate to the minister. Let me reiterate: I understand him in his role of a soldier who expects to see a system of simple subordinations and the command of the Armed Forces as a whole, but I do not see eye to eye with him as a politician.

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] Your former close associate, Jacek Merkel, said that what you are doing with the National Broadcasting and Television Council is nothing short of political hooliganism. What would you say to that?

[Walesa] You cannot have a situation whereby I appoint people to certain positions and offices, and they then begin to do what they want, with the president having no say in it at all. It is very simple. As for the National Broadcasting and Television Council, there have been goings-on there that cannot be proved because not everything has been committed to paper. But I see the mistakes, nonetheless: All these moves around the new television broadcasting stations, all the frequencies that have been already allocated, or that have been promised. It is all improper, unreasonable, and, in my opinion, wrong. But I want to act lawfully, and I am waiting for the moment within the law that will allow me to correct the trends and directions I believe to be incorrect. So I asked the lawyers: Will I not be breaking the law if I make such and such a move? And it is vital to make that move? I was told that I could make that move. The National Broadcasting and Television Council is a new institution that as yet does not have adequate legislative instrumentation. Consequently, you can say that those of its members who were recalled had not obviously broken the law or were not seen to break the law, but there is another question here: What can we do when there is still no adequate law pertaining to a given sphere of activity? My lawyers believe that taking advantage of loopholes in

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the law in order to win your objectives is even worse than breaking the actual laws in force. Once the National Broadcasting and Television Council members noticed these loopholes, they should have recommended that they be closed instead of acting to exploit the absence of the relevant legal provisions. That is my opinion in this matter.

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] But it is a minority opinion. Most lawyers believe that the decision to dismiss the National Broadcasting and Television Council members was made in a way that breached the legal framework provided by the relevant act. And that is why Merkel is talking about political hooliganism.

[Walesa] There he goes challenging me again. But you can also see it from a different perspective: Is is not political hooliganism to neglect to ask for legislative regulation and to make unlawful decisions in the absence of such regulation? I therefore counter his challenge. But that is not everything that is involved here. I would also charge the National Council with poor economic management, to put it mildly. Much of the property that belonged to the state—that is, to us all—has been given away. People who have been granted a license to run a television station should install their own transmitters, not use those belonging to the state.

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] Surely the public perception of the whole fracas is also of considerable importance. According to findings published in the media, two-thirds of those questioned deplore the method that was used to dismiss the National Broadcasting and Television Council members.

[Walesa] The council has access to the press. Markiewicz [dismissed National Broadcasting and Television Council chairman] was the lawyer who drafted the act, and he is now giving the matter all that publicity. We base our case on the court's decision and do not introduce any new elements. This is a political game.

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] Well, precisely. It is quite widely believed that the wrangling over the Polonia 1 or PolSat is part of a political game connected with the presidential campaign. Here is a fragment of an interview Jacek Kuron gave to GLOS WYBRZEZA: "I feel distaste and indignation at the sight of all that busy scrambling toward the presidential chair, around the presidential chair, and in the immediate vicinity of the presidential chair." The contest over control of the television is perceived with similar sentiment.

[Walesa] Yes, and that is because, as a result of being constantly badgered by journalists who just would not leave me in peace over that question, I was the first to confirm that I would run for president in the next election. And I will declare again, here and now: I am running for president because I still intend to put a great many things in order. So, as a result of this, everyone else is now trying to kick the president in order to improve his own election chances. The person who is doing it in the most elegant manner is Oleksy, whereas other politicians who intend to run for president choose much less refined methods. They bite me wherever they can, as long as they can demonstrate how sharp they are.

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] Does Waldemar Pawlak try to bite, too?

[Walesa] Pawlak bites a bit less than others. He bites for other reasons, more to do with his premiership than with any presidential concerns. On the other hand, such politicians as Oleksy, Kuron, Malachowski, and others bite me because they want to run for president themselves and are determined to score points even before they announce their intention to take part in the contest. You might note, gentlemen of the press, that it is truly a contest for real men, tough and sharp and carried out on all fronts with a cool smile, but at the same time with much jeering and derision.

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] Your choice of close associates is significant not only because they can strongly affect your public image but also because they influence your chances of winning the presidential election. However, some of them seem to be doing nothing but collecting negative points for you. Before leaving for the Netherlands visit, Minister Wachowski, who was, by his standards, unusually talkative on that occasion, said in front of the TV cameras that, if his resignation were guaranteed to improve the lot of the average Polish worker or to cause more homes to be built, he would indeed resign. That was pure demagoguery, and it somehow smacked of a certain old style of address with which we are all familiar. Mr. President, do you envisage any changes in your closest entourage? Speculations on this subject most often name Mr. Wachowski and Mr. Kozakiewicz, as well as Father Cybula....

[Walesa] When I notice a negative influence, I do not allow myself to indulge in sentiments. Many people have already tumbled down from their high positions on that steep political ladder, and I will send anyone else that way if I find he uses his position for purposes other than serving the nation. No one should have any doubts about that. I will punish my wife, too, if she does something wrong. And, as to Wachowski, he collects all the blows because, if people cannot hit me directly, they try to hit my associates in order to destabilize them: They concentrate on hitting Wachowski exactly in order to prove that I surround myself with inferior associates. I select people to match the tasks required, and I am convinced that I would not have the kind of problems with Wachowski that I had with Markiewicz and others. Some people have to be dragged away from their posts by tractors because they have grown to like them so much that they will not budge. It was like that with the Kaczynski brothers and with Merkel, although, in Merkel's case, it was much easier to remove him. Nonetheless, even today he still can neither forgive me nor understand why I had no political choice and simply had to do as I did. But when it is Wachowski's turn to go because it is in the

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country's interest, he is sure to climb down from the deck with more dignity than others.

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] But, for the time being, as your words imply, Minister Wachowski still plays the role of a protective shield placed just one step before you, which receives all of the blows and punches....

[Walesa] Just so.

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] But the kind of political cynicism contained in Mieczyslaw Wachowski's comment cited above reminds us a little of the rhetoric of Jerzy Urban, who once assured us that "the government will look after itself well enough." People take a very dim view of such attitudes.

[Walesa] And how was the guy supposed to defend himself, hounded as he was and showered with blows from all sides? The fact that all of us, including Wachowski and me, still hang on to our sanity is a great achievement on our part because I am not sure whether anyone else would have kept his cool with so much mud being thrown at him, and if he were made answerable to the debts of so many other people. So it is quite understandable that, in these circumstances, there are moments of weakness when we may sometimes sound brusque or come out with an ill-considered phrase.

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] Those who have left your entourage say that it is very difficult to work with you. They claim it is easier to serve you. Apparently you do not recognize other arguments than your own. Is that true?

[Walesa] Ah well, I agree with this. I believe that it is my role to serve, so I demand the same of others. As to those who do not want to serve but to pursue their own interests, which do not coincide with the president's will, I say, "Thank you for your collaboration—and goodbye," regardless of their achievements. I am faithful to this principle, and I apply it without regard for sentiment. Of course, this does not swell the ranks of my friends, but so be it.

If I wanted to become Poland's answer to Kim Il-song, I would have become that already because I had 10 million people. I would have reinforced the state security service as well as other groups, and we would have built a totalitarian system even more quickly than the communists built theirs. But I have undertaken to build a truly grand thing—that is, pluralism—and I will do that, but I will do it by awakening the people with the help of democracy. Although democracy is a system where everyone is in dispute with everyone else, that is still done within the iron framework of the law.

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] Mr. President, why are you still engaged in a wrangle with certain Solidarity activists?

[Walesa] Because I can see that things are going badly and that, despite everything, our people have been deceived.

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] What was the nature of the deceit?

[Walesa] Consider, for example, privatization. We are going to wake up in two years' time and realize that the whole country is someone else's property and that our owners are mostly foreign. And the assets that belong to the people, to us all, will be transferred to just a handful of people. We will be left with scarcely anything at all.

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] Just like it is now with the Gdansk press titles, which are all, except for GLOS WYBRZEZA, published with German capital....

[Walesa] Well, I ask you! So that is what we have allowed to happen! I can anticipate all the next moves in this game. In 10 years' time, people will say: "Enough of this game and away with all of these capitalists!" Just as it was with the October Revolution. They will attempt to get rid of them all. Because I can see several moves ahead, I find it all horrifying. I would like us to give something to these people because otherwise it will all end badly.

[GLOS SZCZECINSKI] The question of the state and official secrets act is one of the contentious issues in the present substantive dispute taking place in Poland. Mr. President, you were at first, in mid-September, inclined to veto the act. More recently, you said that, owing to certain information you received—you called it "propaganda"—you were inclined to approve it. But, on Friday night, the Senate unequivocally rejected the relevant bill. In connection with this, would you today uphold your original intention to veto the act or your later view about the influence of propaganda?

[Walesa] Please note how beautifully it all proceeded. The Sejm approved the bill without a hitch, so it was convinced that I would do likewise. When I said that I would not approve it, the Senate acted by doing quite the opposite. But I said what I did to enliven the discussion because I have my doubts. When I do have doubts, I must say so. Judging from the information that reaches me, our country is being most intensively penetrated, and we are totally exposed. This is not good for Poland, and that is why something should be done about it. But I would still suggest that we should apply all kinds of sanctions to the officials who have access to secret information and who sell and trade that information, and not to the journalists whose professional brief is precisely to obtain information. However, the officials are quite smart: They are quite happy to have journalists as their accomplices in crime. The bill is unsatisfactory. Nevertheless, I still believe that such spheres as, say, national defense, and also economic secrets should be protected.

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] Mr. President, how do you like working with Prime Minister Pawlak? It is said more and more often that the method of government adopted by the prime minister resembles the prewar quip in which the abbreviation PSL [Polish Peasant Party] was decoded as "Peasants Snatch all Lucrative posts"....

[Walesa] Indeed, that trend is quite noticeable. There are already jokes to the effect that they are everywhere, that

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even when you open the icebox in your kitchen to get yourself a snack, you are likely to find a PSL activist lurking there. This will cost us dearly. A new coalition, composed of completely different parties, will eventually come and kick all those people out.

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] And we will then have another brawl on our hands....

[Walesa] Exactly. I would like to avoid that, and that is why my relations with the government are somewhat strained because I keep saying that things cannot go on like that any longer, that it could mean suicide for us all.

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] Does the prime minister say anything to that, or is he more often silent during those conferences you have with him?

[Walesa] He is silent and slow, and it is most difficult to come to any arrangement with him. This bodes ill for us all, and that is why I will have to make several more moves still—those dangerous moves of which I spoke earlier.

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] So how is it? You used to stress so often that you are very good at assessing people's strengths and abilities. So you choose your men according to those insights—and then they fail you....

[Walesa] No, no, it was all different with Pawlak. Pawlak is a really capable man. To begin with, he was capable and he was fairly quick. But then, when he failed to form a government, he got broken, and he drew his conclusions from that.

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] That he would have to rely exclusively on his own men?

[Walesa] Just so. He seems to have embraced the principle that you should not do too much as long as you do not stick your neck out, and he must have concluded that that would be sufficient for him to function as prime minister for a long time. He has been hurt and wronged. In other words, one of my capable men has been destroyed. However, he may yet pick himself up. I believe that this will happen, but, for the moment, he has clearly lost his drive, his enthusiasm, and his courage.

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] The prime minister is not an advocate of rapid privatization. In that instance, he is clearly procrastinating....

[Walesa] What the prime minister is blocking by his delays is only a fragment of the privatization program. That is not what I am interested in. I am interested in the enfranchisement of the people. I believe that my original concept of 100 million zlotys [Z] [to be given in shares to each citizen] is still topical. Of course, an adjustment must be made in the case of all those nouveaux riches and those who earn, say, more than Z20 million [a month] today. They should be excluded from the scheme.

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] By that token, you also will be excluded from such a privatization scheme....

[Walesa] That depends on how we calculate our incomes! Because, when incomes are calculated per capita, I do not get more than Z1.5 million.

[GLOS SZCZECINSKI] Our readers often ask whether the president receives remuneration for the work he does in that capacity.

[Walesa] I will have to start receiving some remuneration before very long because the revenues from my book and film royalties are becoming exhausted. I wanted to keep going until the end of my term of office. Then I would let the nation know how much the president earned during that time, and then once again I would give it all to the nation, as I have done with all of the other things I have received. But it is quite probable that I will not be able to manage financially much longer. I may have to demand that Pawlak give me a salary because everything costs too much nowadays. He keeps raising prices, and if this goes on, he will leave me penniless.

[GLOS SZCZECINSKI] As regards the money question, you held telephone talks with the editors of the weekly WPROST following Bujak's published commentary, and, recently, you also talked with Deputy Zajac, who has raised a parliamentary question to investigate whether the transfer of foreign awards is compatible with the foreign currencies laws. Would it not have been better to issue a public announcement in connection with this matter?

[Walesa] How many times have I made such announcements already?! I do not have as much as one cent abroad! All the awards I have ever been granted went not to my own but to the union's accounts because I had left instructions with the bank: "Please give it all to the union"! Those who were authorized to draw from the accounts were withdrawing the money. I never touched any of the money at all. The biggest prize—the Nobel—went to the shipyard hospital.

[GLOS WYBRZEZA] Mr. President, are you going to win the election?

[Walesa] Poland needs to be ruled by a strong man who can make quick and accurate decisions. Accordingly, I am inclined to take upon myself the pulling of that cart, and I want to to put it in order. I know that today the people stand to one side and the politicians—including myself—to another. But I will be clever in that I will move closer to the people, and I will win the election.

[GLOS SZCZECINSKI] I do not think so!

[Walesa] I will give everyone a surprise yet—not only you, sir!

[GLOS SZCZECINSKI] Thank you for talking with us.

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Walesa on Elections, Reforms, Cabinet, Policy

WS2410100094 Poznan WPROST in Polish 23 Oct 94 pp 13-15

[Interview with President Lech Walesa, by Piotr Gabryel, Dobrochna Kedzierska, Marek Krol, and Boguslaw Mazur; place and date not given: "Strength of Anxiety"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [WPROST] [Passage omitted] You are being accused of balancing on the edge of the law and attempting to change the political system of the state by the method of accomplished facts.

[Walesa] I am attempting to reveal various weak points because we are working on the constitution, after all. Because my term of office is only half successful, or, one could even say that it is unsuccessful, I am trying to respond to why this is happening so that the next term of office will be better, so that the president will be able to meet his commitments. When the game for the presidency started, I was the first to point out that one cannot demand a program from the president because he does not have executive powers. Now I can see the lack of cohesion of the system. Therefore, I even provoke certain issues to show where the system can be improved. Either more powers should be given to the prime minister, or the president should be shifted in the direction of the executive powers.

[WPROST] Do you not think the choice between a presidential and a parliamentary-cabinet system should be made in a referendum?

[Walesa] If you proposed that today, the result would be difficult to predict. It is even possible that the parliamentary system would be chosen because people are afraid. A longer discussion should be held, and many elements should be pointed out—for example the following: I am the commander in chief of the Armed Forces, but what can I do? I can do nothing.

[WPROST] However, you are already criticizing the governing coalition, which, despite having a stable majority in the parliament, is delaying the Mass Privatization Program, for instance. Well, not long ago you liked Prime Minister Pawlak more than his government.

[Walesa] Pawlak used to be a fantastic, aggressive person. However, that was at a time he was trying to form a government for the first time, when I was predicting a configuration of a Polish Peasant Party [PSL] prime minister plus Solidarity ministers. Pawlak was then destroyed by politics—broken in a way. I do not know whether he will overcome this, whether he will become this aggressive man again. I announced that he would be the prime minister at a very difficult time. As can be seen, he is barely coping with the situation, and it is not known whether he will cope with it.

[WPROST] One can get the impression that the Pawlak government is largely preoccupied with satisfying the expectations of the PSL electorate.

[Walesa] Pawlak is trying to get the best position, where it is possible and where it is safe. This concept is a misfortune for Poland. However, I am counting on Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko, whose concepts are quite well prepared. Perhaps he will be able to balance the peasant-oriented policy pursued by Pawlak. I do not want my words to be misinterpreted here. I do not want to be considered an enemy of the countryside. I know the countryside very well because that is where I come from. I know the hard work and the costs peasants are paying for the reforms, even though this goes not only for the countryside. I believe, however, that, in the long run, the countryside will also benefit from these reforms.

[WPROST] "There will be no stopping of the reforms. I will not allow that to happen, even if I had to employ Yeltsin's option." This is what you said a year ago in an interview for WPROST. Are you still taking such an option into consideration?

[Walesa] I spoke about "Yeltsin's option" before the coup attempt and before the unrest in Moscow. When I spoke with President Yeltsin, I proposed firm, yet peaceful, solutions to him. Nonetheless, Yeltsin decided on solutions based on force, which are contrary to my concept. Now, as to the reforms, it is not true that they have been halted. They really are being implemented. The thing is, this is being done too slowly compared to our appetites and capabilities.

[WPROST] However, now that food prices tend to go up, the fact that the government is favoring the interests of peasants may lead to a conflict between towns and the countryside. Should the president not see to it that these disproportions are eliminated?

[Walesa] Every now and then there is an attempt to give the impression of an existing conflict between the town and the countryside. This goes for both you and the politicians. There are people in towns and in the countryside who really find it difficult now to make ends meet. However, both here and there there are groups that are doing fairly well in these hard times. I am counting on politicians, on Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko, for instance, to see to it that this is a balanced configuration. I hope he will not allow any disproportions. Will this really happen? I do not know. I have been wrong on several occasions already. I thought, for example, that if a postcommunist configuration comes to power, it will want to do its best and will agree to fast privatization. It has turned out, however, that they are traveling on the same road as the previous governments. They are doing this even a little more slowly.

[WPROST] Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko does not seem to get much support for his efforts to reform the functioning of the Council of Ministers. Can he count on your support in this area?

[Walesa] If he is as consistent and energetic as he has been so far, he may count on my cooperation and support.

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[WPROST] During a meeting with the Freedom Union, you used the term "lesser evil." If your hopes of continuing reforms did not come true, would you consider it a "lesser evil" to partially limit democratic liberties?

[Walesa] The United States is the most democratic state in the world. Nonetheless, all the executive powers are vested in the president. Therefore, we must improve the efficiency of governing, which is impossible in the present systemic configuration. The point is not to restrict democracy but to change the system. At this point, I would like to appeal to politicians for reflection.

[WPROST] While you were striving to accomplish this goal, you tried to attract politicians of the right wing. Meanwhile, your recent measures have united the center leftist bloc, which adopted an appeal that accuses you of making decisions that transgress the law.

[Walesa] If there is unification in one wing, there is also unification in the other. I have fulfilled my role. Moving party sofas around does not serve anyone. Thus, if I have accelerated the process of unification of certain structures that broaden democracy, it is very good. Now, the problem is that this is the left wing. Well, let the right wing pull itself together and follow suit. I did give it a warning right before the September election last year. I appealed to it to form a strong bloc. No one listened to me, though.

[WPROST] For the time being, most of the rightist politicians do not support you. Whose support do you intend to seek in the election?

[Walesa] Right now, even if the entire right wing voted for me, I would not stand a chance of winning. After all, the entire right wing—I am thinking about the parties, not society—can be squeezed into one room. This is why I want to make it unite. Thanks to that, increasingly more people will work for the good of the country. I have devoted my entire term of office to stimulating and provoking, to initiating the correct activities. This gives rise to normalcy, which should come in the second term of office.

[WPROST] At a meeting with entrepreneurs, you said that Poland is not Yugoslavia and that we are not threatened by such acute conflicts, even though you do predict several more conflicts in our country.

[Walesa] We have no grounds for great battles. We have reasons for minor scuffles. The West must understand that it can invest money in Poland because these scuffles will not be dangerous. Stable systems have always been established in the course of disputes and discussions about models. Our country is not threatened by destruction.

[WPROST] You speak about provoking. Can anything be built on conflicts?

[Walesa] Now, can anything be built on a cemetery-like peacefulness? When people do not feel like doing anything, one must provoke a discussion: "Wait a second, four persons have reached an agreement in the countryside, and now they are calling the shots in the entire gmina [smallest administrative unit]. Now, there are a hundred of us, and we have no say?" Therefore, I will provoke people into action, even into action against myself.

[WPROST] In the near future, however, we may witness a serious conflict over the state budget. Will you dissolve the Sejm if it fails to pass the budget law within three months?

[Walesa] I do not think this will actually happen. However, once the budget has been adopted, I will make my second move—that is, I will say: "Let us say that the budget has four pillars, which Walesa is talking about, and let us agree that it will be binding until the end of the term of office." In this way, 20 or 30 percent of the budget would be steadily earmarked for the four areas that are most important to stability and the development of the country. The rest can be negotiated and discussed. This is also where I am counting on Kolodko, with whom I have already discussed this.

[WPROST] In a January issue of the DER SPIEGEL weekly, you said the following: "No one stands a chance against me. I have so many ideas for the future that it would be enough for the entire parliament and the entire government. I fear that I will win and get too much support. This would not be good for democracy." Do you still fear this?

[Walesa] If democracy works so much that it is able to beat me, I will win anyway. Personally, I will lose, but the goal I have set for myself will be accomplished. I have always wanted to build a strong system. I never cared about any personnel matters or personal ambitions. I want to create mechanisms that will work and, regardless of any changes at the summits of power, parliaments, coalitions, will not allow development to be halted. The price we have already paid for the reforms as a society was too high to let all that has been achieved be destroyed, especially if we consider the fact that we have already passed the critical point. If I decide that this is what is already happening in Poland, it will be my victory, even if I lose personally.

Walesa Confirms Intention To Run for President

LD2210200694 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 22 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer Stanislawa Stec] President Lech Walesa, during a meeting with delegates of the Polish-American Congress, which is ending its general assembly in Buffalo, appealed to the whole Polish emigre community to help reform Poland. He also asked for joint concern for Poland's security, although there were fortunately no real threats today because Russia is not a threat to us. We should cooperate with Russia because the Russian market is huge, and doing business together can be advantageous not only for

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Poland but also for businessmen from the Polish emigre community. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent Bogumil Husajnow, in Buffalo] Poland's internal situation was also discussed. When asked directly if he would be running again, Walesa replied that, although he is tired of holding the post, he will enter the election lists again, and nobody from the Democratic Left Alliance will be able to beat him.

Answering a question about recent conflicts between himself and parliament, Lech Walesa replied that he intends to address the nation immediately after his return to Poland and explain why the present system of government is inefficient and what must be changed for it to operate properly. He did not hide the fact that, for him, the only completely efficient system is a presidential one, like the U.S. system. If his proposals are rejected, then, as the president put it, let the parliamentary speakers start ruling. Maybe they will do it better. [passage omitted]

The meeting lasted an hour, and one woman delegate summed it up as follows: The Polish press paints a black picture of President Walesa, and it is not true. He is still, for U.S. Poles, one of the most popular Poles in the history of Poland.

Poll: Walesa Wrong in Conflict Over KRRiT

WS2110134694 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Oct 94 p 2

[Article by "B.I.W.": "CBOS on Dispute over KRRiT; Walesa Is Not Right"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The conflict over the National Council of Radio and Television [KRRiT] is a manifestation of the struggle for power. This is the opinion expressed by 64 percent of the respondents to a poll conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center [CBOS]. Only 14 percent of respondents interpret this dispute as one over Constitutional principles, while every 17th respondent believes it is an insignificant argument between politicians. Half of the respondents say that, in the dispute over the recall of two KRRiT members, it is Marek Markiewicz and Maciej Ilowiecki who are right. Only 16 percent believe that the president is in the right; every fourth respondent does not know which side to take.

It is difficult to pinpoint the characteristic features of the respondents that can be observed among the supporters of the president and those of the recalled KRRiT members. There are only rather vague patterns. For example, people in higher echelons of the social hierarchy more often than others support Markiewicz and Ilowiecki. Skilled workers tend to identify with the stand taken by Lech Walesa, and unskilled workers tend to support the recalled KRRiT members. These are also supported by people with leftist views more often than by people declaring right-wing views.

The extreme antipresidential pole attracts supporters of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]. Almost all of them (83 percent) say that the recalled KRRiT members are right. Supporters of the Union of Labor are also critical of Walesa (72 percent), voters of the Freedom Union (57 percent), the Polish Peasant Party (67 percent), and many rightist voters (46 percent side with the recalled members, 27 percent with Walesa). The propresidential extreme does not have a representative as determined as the antipresidential SLD. The most propresidential is the Nonparty Bloc in Support of Reforms (42 percent support Walesa's stand). Voters of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] (37 percent) and Solidarity ["S"] (34 percent) more often than others admit that the president is right in this dispute. However, their opinions are rather extreme: As many as 44 percent of KPN supporters and 33 percent of "S" sympathizers support the recalled KRRiT members.

* * *

The poll was conducted by CBOS between 6 and 10 October on a representative 1,184-person random sample of adult inhabitants of Poland.

Right-Wing Party Creates 'Shadow Cabinet'

LD2310213894 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2100 GMT 23 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Main Board of the Christian National Union [ZChN] has appointed a shadow cabinet, which is to monitor the activity of the government and parliament and to voice its own proposals in response to actions by the government. This was stated today by ZChN Acting Chairman Ryszard Czarnecki. The ZChN will hold talks with the other parties that are members of the Covenant for Poland, as well as with the 11 November Coalition and Solidarity, in order to find a common presidential candidate of the right wing.

Bishop on Church Requirements for Constitution

LD2210195394 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] In a letter from the Polish Episcopate, which is to be published on Monday, the bishops demand that the future constitution speak not of the division of church and state but of their mutual independence and autonomy. Bishop Tadeusz Pieronek has told this program that the bishops also want the new constitution to contain clauses on the Concordat and a ban on the killing of unborn children.

[Correspondent Janusz Sobieraj] The discussion on the letter on the subject of the constitution was a lively one. According to Bishop Orszulik, its draft had to be reedited so that it has a more balanced character. Bishop Tadeusz Pieronek claims that the state cannot be either confessional or lay; it ought to be unbiased.

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[Begin Bishop Pieronek recording] We look with greater favor toward a clause on the neutrality of world view neutrality, if it takes into account the presence of the sacred sphere in the life of man. [end recording]

In the bishops' letter, a ban on the killing of unborn children and the right to teach religion in schools are also mentioned. The bishops want values such as the love of freedom, social and national solidarity, and tolerance, which the bishops feel to be most valuable for the Polish nation, to be reflected in the constitution. Bishop Pieronek is of the view that, in certain of the draft constitutions presented to the Sejm, there are clauses the church ought to fear.

[Begin Pieronek recording] For instance, the clause on the lay nature of the state, of course, very much depends upon how we understand this. But there is a certain danger that is hidden behind such an expression, and we are afraid of this. [end recording]

Were parliament to adopt a constitution the church could not accept, the bishops count on the active opposition of the faithful.

[Begin Pieronek recording] There is the matter of a referendum—that is, not of participation in a referendum of the church as an institution; there is no such possibility—but, if over 90 percent of Poles declare themselves as believers and as belonging to the church, this is also the voice of the church and not just of society. [end recording]

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FRY President Lilic Begins Visit to Bucharest

AU2110181394 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] Zoran Lilic arrived this afternoon in Romania. At Otopeni Airport Mr. Lilic stated to the press:

[Begin Lilic recording, in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed translation into Romanian] First of all, upon arrival in Romania, a friendly country, I would like to express my satisfaction with the fact that we are here and that we will have the opportunity to meet with President Iliescu. I am convinced that this will be a step forward also for the improvement of our bilateral relations and a step forward toward creating the necessary conditions to achieve a peaceful atmosphere in the entire zone and in the entire Balkan region. I believe that Romania can make a decisive contribution to this goal. I am convinced that tomorrow we will have more to declare. [end recording]

In connection with the lifting of sanctions imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] Mr. Lilic said:

[Begin Lilic recording] My belief is that the lifting of sanctions is the only genuine path that can lead toward peace in the former Yugoslavia. I believe that this is in the interest of Romania and in the interest of the other countries in the area. Thus, this should be the joint goal of all of us, to embark on this road of lifting sanctions and that of resuming the previous cooperation in the mutual interest and in the interest of peace. [end recording]

The Yugoslav president was welcomed at Otopeni Airport by a delegation of honor led by Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu. The official welcoming ceremony will take place at 1700 at Cotroceni Palace. The first round of official talks between the Yugoslav guest and Romania's President Ion Iliescu is scheduled for 1715.

The FRY delegation also includes the Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic and the federal Deputy Premier Nicola Sainovic, our correspondent Dana Popescu reported.

Iliescu, Lilic Discuss Issues

AU2110192994 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] This afternoon at Cotroceni Palace [presidential headquarters] a first round of official talks took place between the presidents of Romania and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Ion Iliescu and Zoran Lilic.

A considerable part of the talks was dedicated to discussing the current stage of the peace efforts, President Ion Iliescu reasserting Romania's position to support all efforts made for the peaceful settlement of the conflict in former Yugoslavia, and President Zoran Lilic pointing out that the Yugoslav Federation—Serbia and Montenegro—is determined to maintain its stance favoring the peace plan proposed by the Contact Group, the spokesman of the Romanian Presidency Ambassador Traian Chebeleu told our correspondent. In that context they interpreted the recent decision of the Security Council to partially lift the sanctions against the Yugoslav Federation as a positive signal.

Regarding bilateral relations they emphasized the idea that the governments of the two countries should prepare measures to resume those relations on all planes as soon as the progress achieved in the peaceful settlement of the conflict will allow for the slackening and the lifting of the embargo imposed on the Yugoslav Federation, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu pointed out.

Urge End to FRY Sanctions

LD2210132494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1243 GMT 22 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Bucharest, 22 Oct (TANJUG)—Zoran Lilic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], and Romanian President Ion Iliescu assessed in Bucharest today that the continued implementation of the sanctions against the FRY are an encouragement for the forces committed to war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The two-day official visit by the Yugoslav president to Romania is part of the constant political contacts between the two neighbors, and the talks focused on two major topics: Bilateral cooperation and the evaluation of the current stage of the Bosnian crisis.

Romanian President Iliescu described Yugoslavia's stance on the Contact Group peace plan as positive. He believes that, although the plan has certain weak points, it provides a basis for solving the Bosnian crisis by political means. He promised Romania's full support for the FRY's peaceful policy and for creating conditions for a just peace in the territory of the former SFRY [Socialist Feceral Republic of Yugoslavia].

President Lilic thanked his host for Romania's consistent stances on the situation, which arose after the disintegration of the former SFRY, and especially for its support for Belgrade's policy and the Serbian and Montenegrin nation, which found itself under an unjust blockade through no fault of its own. He expressed the hope that the international community will opt for a political approach in solving the Bosnian crisis, the first phase of which would be the unconditional lifting of the sanctions, Lilic said.

Two-Day Visit Concludes

AU2210164994 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2200 GMT 11 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The two-day visit paid to our country by Zoran Lilic, president of the Federal

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Republic of Yugoslavia, concluded today with a joint news conference with Romanian President Ion Iliescu.

At the news conference held a short while ago at Cotroceni Palace, the Romanian president told the media that the talks concentrated on two issues: bilateral questions and the situation in the former Yugoslavia, especially the conflict in Bosnia. Mr. Ion Iliescu saluted the stances adopted by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia in connection with the Contact Group peace plan, emphasizing that setting additional provisions for the lifting of the embargo can only support extremist stances. Iliescu also emphasized that Romania is directly interested in the political settlement of the conflict in former Yugoslavia, as well as our country's support for the consolidation of positive steps made so far.

The president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Mr. Zoran Lilic, stressed the full coincidence of opinions in the way the discussed issues were approached. He also expressed the hope that after the lifting of the sanctions, exchanges with Romania will achieve the level that had been reached before the sanctions were imposed.

Referring to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, President Lilic assessed that the official Belgrade policy accepts the Contact Group plan as the best solution, emphasizing, however, that in order for it to be accepted and implemented, it is necessary that the sanctions imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia be unconditionally lifted and the country be given access to all the international bodies from which it was excluded.

The guest assessed that peace lies not solely in the interests of the peoples in the space of the former Yugoslavia, but rather also in the interests of all their neighbors. Lilic emphasized that this would be the first stage in settling all the region's problems.

Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic was received this morning by Romanian Foreign Affairs Minister Teodor Melescanu. After the conclusion of their talks, Mr. Jovanovic stated to our correspondent that the discussions focused on the situation in the former Yugoslavia and relations of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with its neighbors. They also reviewed bilateral relations, with both ministers expressing their interest in speeding up efforts to reestablish normal relations between our countries, as well as in view of the peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav conflict.

The Yugoslav foreign minister stressed that our countries are open to regional cooperation, above all economic. They also approached issues referring to the Serb and Romanian ethnic minorities living in the two countries.

Presidential Spokesman Holds News Conference

AU2110181594 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] During his weekly news conference held today the spokesman of the presidency, Mr. Traian Chebeleu, emphasized that the visit to our country of the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is part of the political contacts Romania is maintaining with all the states on the territory of former Yugoslavia. He assessed that the current moment, following the presentation of the Contact Group peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina, is an exceptional one for the perspectives of the political settling of the Yugoslav crisis and all efforts should be made to take advantage of this situation.

During the same news briefing the spokesman said that on Tuesday, 25 October, President Ion Iliescu will attend the manifestations to be organized in the town of Carei to mark the 50th anniversary of the liberation from foreign occupation of the northwestern part of the country.

On 26 October Mr. Ion Iliescu will receive Daniel Tarschys, the secretary general of the Council of Europe, while on 28 October he will receive Butrus Butrus-Ghali, the secretary general of the United Nations.

Referring to President Ion Iliescu's visit paid yesterday to the Jiu Valley, the spokesman pointed out that by being present there and by attending the debates organized at Petrosani, the head of the state aimed to give impetus to the manifold examination of the possibilities to develop that region further, by involving the basic cadres in the private economic sector, local administration, and education.

Regarding the case of the Mooney couple of Great Britain, Mr. Traian Chebeleu confirmed that certain unofficial interventions have been made in the sense that Romania's president should display clemency and pardon the couple in case they will be sentenced to prison. Mr. Chebeleu added that the verdict passed so far is not final and the Mooneys are currently free and they will stay so until the final sentence is passed.

With respect to the so-called Todut list [revealing the names of dignitaries, including Chebeleu himself, who have been illegally granted houses or apartments], which also includes some of the counselors of the presidency, the spokesman emphasized that this has nothing to do with Romania's president or the institution of the presidency, adding that the living quarters of the presidential employees mentioned in the list have not been obtained by means of the presidential institution, our correspondent Sorin Croitorescu reports.

Democratic Party Opens National Convention

AU2110213394 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Approximately two hours ago in the city of Cluj Napoca, the proceedings of the National Convention of the Democratic Party [PD] began.

After the playing of the national anthem, the president of the party, Mr. Petre Roman, proposed a minute of silence in memory of the PD members who have passed away.

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Following this, in accordance with the agenda, messages were read out by foreign guests. Thus, brief speeches were made or written messages were read by representatives of social-democratic oriented parties from Italy, Belgium, Israel, Spain, Hungary, Greece, France, Sweden, and Great Britain. Many of those parties are members of the Socialist International. Representatives of certain embassies in Bucharest are also attending the event.

Following the messages of the foreign guests, brief speeches were made by Messrs. Sergiu Cunescu, president of the Social-Democratic Party of Romania; Emil Constantinescu, president of the Democratic Convention of Romania; Gheorghe Gorun, chamber of deputy member on behalf of the Civic Alliance Party; and Barna Bodo, representative of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania. Besides them, the organizers told our correspondent that they had also invited trade union leaders, as well as representatives of other nongovernmental organizations.

Mr. Petre Roman is currently presenting the political platform of the PD national convention, entitled The Democratic Party for a New Romania of Labor and Justice. We would like to point out that the aforementioned platform includes the motion called The Future Today and is, according to the PD leader, a doctrine construction aimed at precisely defining the party's modern social-democratic orientation. Furthermore, by means of the aforementioned platform, the PD intends to propose a viable and convincing alternative to the country's current government, which, as Mr. Petre Roman put it, owing to its incompetence, arrogance, and indifference, is holding the country captive in the current crisis, our correspondent reports.

Programs Approved

AU2210191994 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 22 Oct 94

[Report by Ana Ionescu and Adriana Olteanu]

[FBIS Translated Text] The proceedings of the National Convention of the Democratic Party [PD] were set forth today in Cluj. In the morning, they debated and approved two programmatic documents.

PD Vice President Victor Babiuc presented the program titled For the Safety of the Citizens and for Honor in Public Life, which stipulates concrete measures proposed by the PD for the protection of public order, the safety of citizens, and the fighting of corruption.

The second document, titled For the Bread of the Country and the Strength of the Land and presented by Bogdan Niculescu-Duvaz, represents the PD strategy for the modernization of agriculture and the well-being of the farmers. Revealing the grave situation in agriculture, which stems from the current blockade and the precarious living conditions in the rural areas, the document formulates medium-term priorities and strategies having long-time effects. The PD considers that a legislative framework should be established that would regulate, among other things, the agricultural laws, the Rural Development and Planning Agency, the Land Cadastre, agricultural bank loans, and land improvement.

The PD leading bodies are currently being elected.

Roman Elected Leader

AU2210194794 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 22 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The National Convention of the Democratic Party [PD] adopted in Cluj today the resolutions of the convention. The titles of the documents are: The Active Participation of Women in Development; The Oradea Declaration for a New National Policy; Local Administration to the Service of Citizens; and the resolution, which has also become the political platform of the party, The Democratic Party for a New Romania of Labor and Justice, the latter one having been presented by the president of the party, Mr. Petre Roman.

Another issue on the agenda, which was accepted by a unanimous vote, was the merger by absorption [prin absorbtie] of the Democratic Party of Labor with the PD.

During the proceedings, a declaration of the PD National Convention was adopted, expressing the party's wish to rejoin the Socialist Internationale and urging efforts to that purpose.

At the conclusion of the proceedings, the leadership bodies of the PD were elected. It was mentioned that, according to the party statute, the person who elaborated the motion subsequently accepted as the political platform of the party is to become president of the party and the people belonging to the group supporting the motion are to become members of the PD Steering Collegium. Finally, after the acceptance by ballot of the resolution document titled The Democratic Party for a new Romania of Labor and Justice and the actualization of the motion titled The Future Today, which has become the political platform of the party, Mr. Petre Roman was reconfirmed in his office as PD president, while the group of people promoting the actualized motion were elected to the PD Steering Collegium.

The PD national convention also elected Ionel Aichimioaie as president of the PD National Ethical and Litigation Commission and Mircea Boulescu as president of the PD National Revision and Accounts Commission.

After the conclusion of the national convention, the PD leaders held a news conference.

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'Crisis' in Relations Between Muslims, Croats

LD2110165194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1501 GMT 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct. 21 (TANJUG)—The crisis in relations between Bosnian Muslims and Croats in their federation forged in Washington is the greatest in Mostar, in southern Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Muslim Radio Mostar said Friday, quoting reports by Muslim police of eastern Mostar, that Croat military police daily open fire from western Mostar at the eastern, Muslim-controlled, part of the city which is under European Union (E.U.) administration.

The radio also said practically none of the agreements signed between the two sides so far to normalize relations and establish co-existence in Mostar were respected.

The radio commentator illustrated this with the example of the agreement to remove barricades from the city streets. The agreement has not been implemented yet in the Croat, Western part of the city, although this should have been done by Oct. 6.

There are still no federal police or customs officials in a customs office at the border with Croatia near Mostar, so that all taxes and customs are still collected by organs of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, the Bosnian Croat state, Radio Mostar said.

Meanwhile, the radio of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna said Friday the media war was again flaring up, especially from the waves of Muslim Radio Mostar.

Muslims and Croats signed the agreement on a federation in Washington in late March this year, under strong pressure from the United States.

An earlier E.U. proposal to take over administration over Mostar for a two-year period was incorporated into the document on the federation. Mostar was completely destroyed in the fierce Muslim-Croat fighting which preceded the signing of the agreement.

Bosnian Croats and Muslims have preserved all their national institutions within their respective states in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Prime Minister Opposes Zagreb Agreements

LD2310180594 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] At last night's session of the government of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic spoke out publicly against the Zagreb agreements [on Croat-Muslim power-sharing in Bosnia]. We have learned from high-ranking federal officials of Bosnia-Herzegovina that Federal Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic arbitrarily and arrogantly rejected the idea of filling vacancies in ministries with Croat personnel.

Silajdzic also refused to place on the agenda a debate on the appointment of Mile Akmadzic as ambassador in Washington, and on the law on the central bank. This behavior by Mr. Haris Silajdzic has probably been caused by his unstable position.

The same source says that this is not the first instance of the failure to meet the demands of Croat representatives in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, but that the behavior last night of Dr. Silajdzic is a new fact that confirms the assertion of some Croat officials that there is a lack of readiness on the Bosniak Muslim side to set up a federation of two equal peoples.

Federation's Ganic Receives U.S. Senator, Envoy

LD2310094394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 22 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Ejup Ganic, Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency member and vice president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, received U.S. Senator DeConcini, who is chairman of the Helsinki Watch group within the U.S. Congress, and U.S. Ambassador Victor Jackovich today.

After talks with Ganic, Senator Deconcini said: I have come here to support the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government in its struggle against the Serb violence, ethnic cleansing, and permanent violation of human rights, perpetrated particularly by the Serb side. According to DeConcini, both houses of the U.S. Congress accepted resolutions asking the government to lift the arms embargo on Bosnia-Herzegovina so that the Bosnians could defend themselves. I would like to praise the Bosnia-Herzegovina side for its tolerance and will to negotiate through its representatives, he said. Senator DeConcini expressed the hope that President Clinton, in accordance with the demand of the Congress, will invest effort and support for lifting the arms embargo on the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

Expressing his pleasure over the U.S. senator's visit, Ejup Ganic said: We have obtained support from the U.S. Congress and the U.S. people for the continuation of our search for a peaceful solution. I can say that the U.S. leadership, which has always played an important role in foreign policy, will eventually bring peace and justice to this part of the Balkans. We hope that this day will soon come.

Recalling the deadline for representatives of the Serb aggressor to accept the Contact Group plan, Ambassador Jackovich said that the U.S. Administration was working on a resolution of the UN Security Council which will be presented by the end of the month, after which consultations in the U.S. Congress will follow.

Zubak Receives Deconcini

LD2310132894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 22 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] U.S. Senator DeConcini was received today by Kresimir Zubak, president of the

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Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Following the talks Senator DeConcini and President Zubak made brief press statements. Mirela Hukovic-Hodzic recorded their statements:

[Hukovic-Hodzic] Following the talks, U.S. Senator DeConcini said: [passage omitted]

Kresimir Zubak, president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, added:

[Begin Zubak recording] Let me say a few words. I would like to thank Mr. DeConcini and the delegation [words indistinct] for everything that the United States has done [words indistinct] the Croat and Bosniak-Muslim nations. In this I primarily mean the political and moral support, financial support, and all other humanitarian aid that we have received from the United States. I hope that we shall enjoy other kinds of support in the future.

We had talks on the current political situation, the level reached in the establishment of the federation, problems connected with that, as well as the global [word indistinct], further process of restoration of peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and some concrete issues such as lifting the arms embargo. [end recording]

Akashi, Rose in Pale For Talks With Serbs

LD2210171894 Sarajevo Radio Republike Srpske Program for Abroad in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 22 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] State and military officials of the Srpska republic have had a meeting in Pale with Yasushi Akashi, UN special envoy for former Yugoslavia, and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] Commander General Michael Rose. They discussed UNPROFOR's failure to force the Muslim government to withdraw 500 soldiers from the demilitarized zone on Mount Igman. Akashi had futile talks on the subject yesterday with Muslim Vice President Ejup Ganic.

After the talks with the Bosnian Serb leadership, Akashi is expected to return to Sarajevo to have another discussion with the Muslim authorities about the withdrawal of Muslim troops from Mt Igman.

Karadzic Condemns 'Tajfun' Information Group

AU2310212894 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 21 Oct 94 p 5

[Interview with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic by Slobodan Pesevic in Banja Luka on 20 October: "No One Above the Law"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Pesevic] After touring the Krajina communes for several days, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic, held a news conference in Banja Luka last night. The VECERNJE NOVOSTI correspondent asked Karadzic the following:

The arrest of a group of well-known people has caused surprise and astonishment in Banja Luka. Since the entire case is linked to the members of the "Tajfun" information center, which you yourself legalized with a special decree, what can you say about the very serious accusations regarding their work?

[Karadzic] Some time before the elections in 1991, we received an offer from a group of intelligence officers of the then Yugoslav People's Army who were dissatisfied with the treatment of the Serbian issue to inform us about our enemies, and we accepted the offer. This was the "Tajfun" group. When we won the elections, the entire state security service of the then Bosnia-Herzegovina was in the hands of the Croats, so we used the services of the "Tajfun" group. However, after war broke out and we formed our own state, most people in our state security agreed that the "Tajfun" group should be disbanded and that its members should join the system, the state security or the Ministry of Internal Affairs. I ordered Mr. Stanisic, former minister of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, at the end of 1992 to integrate that group and its equipment into the system, into the relevant bodies. I do not know why that did not happen. They continued to function even though they were ordered to disband. At the beginning of this year, I passed a written order to Minister Stanisic to disband that group definitely, since there were accusations that they were involved in illegal arrests and other illegal activities.

I was recently informed that there were people involved in many illegal activities, including suspicions about involvement of the "other side." I have said that, in principle, everyone involved in illegal activities will have to answer for them and that the state security and the Ministry of Internal Affairs have to protect this state. Anyway, I found out that the "Tajfun" information center was involved, so I said that, in principle, I will not protect anyone involved in illegal activities of any kind. I do not know, I think all this is still at the initial informative stage. I think that in the next few days, it will become clear whether charges will be brought against any of them, and then the judiciary system will take over. I can hope and assume that most of them have not committed any criminal act, but were rather deceived by someone else, someone from the "Tajfun" information center. There are indications that someone from the "Tajfun" leadership has been hiding behind state authorities, and thus justified some activities that should not have been done. No one has the right to arrest people without authorization or carry out certain operations work if he is outside the system or indeed even in the system. It is a long and complex procedure to allow someone to carry out measures, such as, for example, spying [osluskivanje] on the state security. [sentence as received] This must be done in strict accordance with the law. I can say that the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the state security have been doing such things generally by the book and have not sinned against anyone. Therefore, no one else has the right to behave differently.

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[Pesevic] Since Boro Maric, chief of the VECERNJE NOVOSTI bureau in Banja Luka, is on the list of the people arrested, his colleagues from the paper have asked me to tell you that they are very concerned about the news that our correspondent was very badly treated during interrogation. Since the first day of the Serbian struggle, Boro Maric had been on the side of the Serbian people with all his articles. Boro's contribution is priceless, they say in the paper. That is why we are all shocked at the office. Mr. President, do you know what has happened to our prominent journalist?

[Karadzic] We are grateful to VECERNJE NOVOSTI for its objective coverage of the struggle of the Serb people for survival from the beginning until now. As for Boro Maric, I do not know how he is being treated. The treatment generally has to be in accordance with the law, it has to be correct. I hope that we will soon get a full report on whether their is any criminal responsibility in this case and what it is, who is to be charged, and who is not. I have to say that I have been informed that another group, a secret one, was formed within that group. Not even the top-level man in the state security knew about this group, and I was not informed about it either. These are things that must not be allowed to happen in a country. I do not know what the role of Boro Maric is in all this. I believe that they used his intellectual services, and he was probably under the impression that this was all a state decision. Anyway, I hope that the final report will be much more favorable than it looked initially. I would like to say that it was in Banja Luka that this group was mostly criticized.

Bosnian Serb Speaker 'Disappointed' in Russia

LD2110223594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2203 GMT 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade Oct. 21 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb parliament speaker Momcilo Krajisnik said Friday Bosnian Serbs were disappointed with Russia's handling of the Bosnian crisis.

The Bosnian Serb News Agency SRNA quoted Krajisnik as saying in an interview to the Moscow radio station Mayak that Russia was not making a true contribution to easing the struggle of the Bosnian Serbs for their state. He said the Bosnian Serbs expected Russia to help them at the international level attain an equal treatment in future talks on a solution for Bosnia.

"Bosnian Serbs and the Bosnian Serb republic are hoping for help from the Russian brothers, but do not rely on it," said Krajisnik.

He said he hoped the "awakened Russian people" would support a change in the policy of President Boris Yeltsin for the power of Russia to be reckoned with in the world, and that Russian interests in the Balkans would not be sold for the promised dollars.

Krajisnik said Russian media had done great damage in the past three years by quoting western propaganda reports which distorted the picture of the Bosnian civil war.

"The Bosnian Serbs are the moral victors in this war although they have lost the media war, but they do not want to defeat the Muslims utterly," he said. He said the object of the struggle of the Bosnian Serbs was to separate their Bosnian Serb republic from the Muslim and Croat parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Karadzic Fears Emissaries May Break Serb Unity

AU2110220894 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Oct 94 p 2

[Report by M. Maric: "Karadzic Points to Big Swindle for Krajina"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka—Owing to the serious objections to the work of Goran Hadzic, who "did not understand the policy of the party, and who inflicted serious damages to the communal branch of the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] of Serbian Lands when the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] introduced the blockade against the RS [Srpska republic]," the Coordination Council of the SDS of Serbian Lands for east Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem has been disbanded.

This was decided the day before yesterday at a meeting between Radovan Karadzic, president of the SDS of Serbian Lands, and the deputy caucus of that party in the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK]. At the meeting, Velibor Ostojic, secretary of the Executive Council of SDS of Serbian Lands, said that Goran Hadzic exceeded his party discipline as far back as the last multiparty elections in the RSK, when he appeared as a presidential candidate—when he was not—and in this way inflicted an enormous damage to our party.

The duty of this council will be performed by the communal councils in the future.

One can only speculate whether Hadzic had or had not been advocating the division of the RSK in two parts so that the east part could join Serbia. The existence of a "rub" is confirmed by Radovan Karadzic's warning that "phony emissaries will appear and claim that east Slavonia, Western Srem, and Baranja should not worry since they will be acceded to Serbia, and that therefore they should not cast in their lot with western Slavonia, Banija, Lika, Kordun, and Dalmatia. Gentlemen, this points to a big swindle. It is much more difficult in international law for one country to annex a plot of land from another country than to create a new state, that is, create two states out of one state.

"If we look at the internal political situation as a factor of our international recognition, we must primarily think in terms of the RSK functioning as a state with a multiparty parliament, and that this parliament and the government are stable, and that the enemy cannot break Serbian Krajina, either along its political seams according to its political parties, or along the regional seams according to the regions or oblasts as you call them here in Krajina," stated Radovan Karadzic, leader

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of the SDS of Serbian Lands, in the talks with the deputies of the SDS in the RSK assembly.

He stressed that these emissaries will appear and that they will offer something attractive to some regions or oblasts in order to abandon the interests or support to other regions. Of course, this will be deceptive and will be aimed at breaking the unity of the Serbian Krajina. Karadzic said that only the strengthening of state institutions and organs of authority in the RSK can ensure the political stability of people, which is now needed more than ever so that the ultimate aim—the creation of a unified Serbian state—can finally be accomplished.

Against Serbs Uniting at Present

LD2110182394 Sarajevo Radio Republike Srpske Program for Abroad in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Radovan Karadzic [president of Srpska republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina] gave a news conference in Banja Luka yesterday. The conference was also attended by Minister of Information Miroslav Toholj, and Velibor Ostojic, chairman of the executive committee of the Serb Democratic Party of Serb Lands. Addressing a large number of journalists from republican and regional information media, Karadzic spoke about the situation in the Srpska republic, spanning topics from information to economic life.

The plan for former Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is on offer at the moment is much better than the Vance-Owen plan, although it is far from being acceptable. However, we have broken down the barrier, we have obtained the right to our own state unit. What remains to be discussed now is how big it will be and what its relations with former Bosnia-Herzegovina will be like.

We are not going to accept Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state. If we are compelled to remain within some sort of a union, this will be a union of the European type. If they demand some tighter union we will simply not take part in the government. In such a Bosnia-Herzegovina we would do everything that the Muslims and Croats used to do in the former Yugoslavia. They were destroying it. Therefore, it would be better for them not to force us and oblige us to be obstructive, but rather to resolve the issue once and for all, Karadzic said.

One of the questions referred to the unification of the Srpska republic and the republic of Serb Krajina. President Karadzic replied:

Formal unification does not change anything. We already have our brigades in Krajina. If Croatia attacks, we will defend Krajina with all our might, even carry out some active operations to punish Croatia. It is very important, in the event of the outbreak of war between Krajina and Croatia, to pinpoint who is to blame for that war. If Croatia attacks Krajina now it will be held responsible, it will not have international support and our retaliation against their towns will be completely legitimate. It will be much easier for us to defend it [Krajina] or to unite after the Croatian attack, than if we formally unite now and give Croatia a good excuse to attack Krajina. That would represent annexation.

As far as international law is concerned, Croatia would accuse us of the annexation of parts of Croatia. Tudjman would have to attack even if he was not intending to wage a war against the Serbs, i.e. against the republic of Serb Krajina. Therefore it is important for us to unite in reality; formal unification will then be easy to achieve.

Stresses Need for New Plan

LD2110181494 Sarajevo Radio Republike Srpske Program for Abroad in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] In his introductory address at the session of the coordination committee of the Serb Democratic Party [SDS] of Serb Lands, Velibor Ostojic, president of the SDS of Serb Lands Executive Council, said that the Srpska republic's international position, the struggle for its international recognition, the political situation in the country, in the light of military, economic, social and other issues, and the realization of the SDS program, as well as the influence exerted by the party in the process of building the state were the topics dealt with in the report submitted yesterday by Radovan Karadzic.

Radovan Karadzic said that this war [passage indistinct] should end, the lines of separation should be established, and territorial concessions negotiated in conditions of peace. If the Muslim army wants a military showdown, the Serbs will not settle for less than 64 percent of the territory in which they are a majority and which is politically theirs already. The outcome of this war must be political. It is only then that we will make territorial concessions to the international community. If the Muslims want a military outcome, they will get as much as they can wrestle from us by force, Karadzic said.

The president of the Srpska republic went on to say that, under the Contact Group's plan, the linking of the Srpska republic with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was suggested according to some regional principles. Karadzic stressed that regional links are not to be rejected, but we want to be linked as states, so that the Srpska republic will have a legal international status, that is, be an entity under international law.

From this meeting as well, we can send the official message to the Contact Group: After the referendum, no one has the right to accept the proposed maps unless they are altered, the president of the Srpska republic said. He added that the Contact Group should alter the peace plan as soon as possible. Karadzic went on to say that the negotiating delegation of the Srpska republic will not conduct further negotiations unless it is granted an equal position and unless certain principles for the negotiations and a new peace conference are established beforehand. They must adopt the principles which will

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guarantee that we will have a certain influence on the future and on the outcome of the new plan, and not turn us into an object of manipulation. They cannot draw up plans and maps without our consent and then force us to take part in their work on a take-it-or-leave-it basis, the president of the Srpska republic said.

Denies Negotiating With Valentic

LD2110155294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1415 GMT 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 21 Oct (TANJUG)—Srpska republic President Radovan Karadzic told Serb Radio-Television in Banja Luka that no one has the right to negotiate the fate of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] except its president, Milan Martic, SRNA reports.

In response to articles in the Belgrade press, which claim that he held talks with Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic on the exchange of certain territories in the Srpska republic and the RSK in order to acquire access to the sea, Karadzic said last night that "the negotiations concerning Prevlaka and access to the sea involved only Serb territories in the Dubrovnik hinterland and the Trebinje municipality."

"We will not negotiate with anyone about the RSK, except in the framework of a global solution to the Croatian-Serbian conflict, which would involve, in addition to the president of the RSK, the presidents of Serbia and the Srpska republic," Karadzic specified.

He stressed that the Srpska republic will accept "any decision by the RSK leadership concerning the RSK's relations with Croatia," SRNA reports.

Accord Reached on Bosnian Withdrawal From Igman

LD2210224294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 22 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Ejup Ganic, Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency member and vice president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, had talks this evening with UN secretary general's special envoy Yasushi Akashi. In the course of their talks that lasted for three hours a number of issues were discussed on which we have a report prepared by our correspondent Nedzad Leko:

[Leko] After the talks journalists were first addressed by Yasushi Akashi:

[Begin Akashi recording in English with Serbo-Croat translation superimposed] We have had intensive discussions on a number of issues. Primarily, we discussed the demilitarized zone on Mt Igman. Ganic and his delegation and myself and the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] delegation have reached an agreement that at noon on 24 October the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army should begin its withdrawal from the demilitarized zone on Mt Igman. That process will be completed as soon as possible.

In order to facilitate the implementation of the cease-fire agreement which was reached on 9 February at Sarajevo Airport, and in order to restore safety of the road across Mt Igman, UNPROFOR and Bosnia-Herzegovina Army generals will begin talks on modalities [modaliteti]; this meeting is to begin at 0900 tomorrow morning. I have expressed a wish that the whole process of withdrawal be completed within 24 or 36 hours.

We have also had talks on a number of other issues—on humanitarian situation in Sarajevo and enclaves such as Srebrenica. We have also had talks on issues of electricity, water and gas supplies, humanitarian convoys, Bihac. It was a very useful discussion. [end recording]

[Leko] Ejup Ganic informed journalists about other details of the talks this evening:

[Begin recording Ganic in English with Serbo-Croat translation superimposed] Generals Karavelic and Gaubillard will meet tomorrow to discuss the mechanisms of withdrawal. I have told Mr. Akashi that, as regards the withdrawal of our troops from Mt Igman, this is a process that we wish to begin as soon as possible and think that Monday is a good day for it, but also expect the safety of the road across Mt Igman, which is our main concern, to be secured in a way satisfactory for our generals, so that the withdrawal of the troops could begin soon.

I think that everyone understands the necessity of implementing the 9 February agreement very thoroughly, because the safe area has been designed in such a way as to allow us to have this road across Mt Igman to prevent Sarajevo from being cut off from central Bosnia and rest of the world. As Mr Akashi said we also discussed technical issues, and we are hoping that our generals will further work out all the details so that everybody should be satisfied. The speed of the process of withdrawing will depend on these details. [end recording] [passage omitted]

UN French Soldiers To Occupy Igman Positions

AU2410092294 Paris AFP in English 0853 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Oct 24 (AFP)—UN French soldiers Monday were preparing to take over positions on Mount Igman from Bosnian government forces who were to begin their withdrawal from the restricted area at noon, a UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman said here.

Full implementation of the withdrawal remained in doubt however because of the Bosnian Government's insistence that the UN guarantee the safety of the demilitarized area, southwest of the capital, and that of a

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strategic mountain road, the only Moslem-controlled link between Sarajevo and the rest of the federation.

Some 60 extra UN soldiers would be sent to reinforce the 500 or so French mountain troops already in the Igman zone, according to Sarajevo sector spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Bernard Labarsouque.

The UN troops would occupy positions left vacant by Bosnian soldiers who are required to leave the DMZ and fall-back about one kilometer (half-mile), he said.

Following pressure from the United Nations and threats from the Bosnian Serbs, Bosnian Vice-President Ejup Ganic Saturday reluctantly agreed to withdraw his soldiers, who are believed to number about 500. They had infiltrated the DMZ, set up in August 1993, to bolster their hold on the strategic mountain road which is regularly targetted by Serb gunners.

But Ganic also warned Saturday that his forces would not complete their withdrawal until the UN guaranteed the safety of the road, an assurance the UN was reluctant to give.

Akashi said for his part he hoped the withdrawal would be completed within 36 hours.

Bosnian 1st Corps commander General Vahid Karavelic and UN Sarajevo sector commander General Herve Gobilliard met Sunday to discuss arrangements for the withdrawal, but there were no immediate details on the meeting.

Gobilliard and Karavelic were due to meet again Monday afternoon on Mount Igman, Labarsouque said.

Izetbegovic Views Situation in Mostar

LD2210162294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, visited Mostar today as part of his tour of the free Bosnia-Herzegovina territory. [Words indistinct] reports:

[Correspondent] During his short visit to Mostar Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, managed to have talks with representatives of all town authorities. His first hosts were mayor of eastern Mostar Safet Orucevic with aides, members of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] municipal committee and EU administrator Hans Koschnick. [passage omitted]

Before his departure from Mostar Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, made the following statement for the media: I have been touring Bosnia-Herzegovina lately, as I normally do every month or two in order to keep up with the military and political situation. I have visited Posavina, Zenica, Visoko, and am now in Mostar. My overall impression is favorable. I compared last year's figures with the ones this year. The Army has progressed, it made a major step forward. The [combat] lines are pretty stable and our Bosnian Army has the initiative.

Compared to the situation over the last three months the present situation in Mostar has improved. However, the process of the implementation of the federation is proceeding slowly. I am not quite satisfied with this progress. The most important thing is to avoid any clashes. I told Mr. Koschnick there is still no tolerance and we should not allow a new Berlin wall to be erected in the city, President Izetbegovic said.

Asked when Bosniak Muslims will be able to travel and move freely through the so-called Herceg-Bosna and Croatia, as Croats are allowed to do in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the president said:

There is some progress, even with the return of refugees, but all this is far away from free movement and free communications through Croatia. We shall press for visa-free travel. The Croat Defense Council will not be able to keep up this conflict situation for much longer. It will have to open the doors of Stolac and Capljina [south of Mostar, Croat held]. We will request the mediation of international factors. Minister Bakir Alispahic is in Doljani right now and this border crossing is expected to be opened today. Croats have expressed readiness to open it today.

Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, has left Mostar for a visit to the 4th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and a meeting with fighters on the front line.

Russian Mercenaries Confirmed Fighting for Serbs

AU2010211694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Oct 94

[Report by Mediha Colo]

[FBIS Translated Text] Federal and Republican Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic today made a statement for the Radio and Television of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Dr. Silajdzic spoke about the U.S. initiative concerning the lifting of the arms embargo introduced against the government and the problem of the presence of Russian mercenaries in the aggressor's army. Mediha Colo reports:

[Colo] Federal and Republican Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic was today in contact with Charles Thomas, the member of the Contact Group from the United States. Prime Minister Silajdzic made a statement for the Radio and Television of Bosnia-Herzegovina about his conversation.

[Begin Silajdzic recording] Mr. Thomas briefed me on some details of the results of the talks in the Contact Group. The most important detail is that the U.S. Government has decided to ask the Security Council to lift the embargo automatically after six months. Some

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members of the Contact Group are opposed to it. However, the U.S. Government will do that regardless of this opposition. He said that this was in line with what President Clinton had promised he would do in his letter to Senator Nunn and what he had promised our delegation headed by President Izetbegovic. So, the U.S. Government will act in accordance with that.

He also told me that the Contact Group, that is, all five of its members, intend to come to Sarajevo at the beginning of November, in the first week of November. [end recording]

[Colo] Prime Minister Silajdzic also explained his statement given to foreign journalists today regarding the presence of Russian mercenaries fighting on the Serbian aggressor's side.

[Begin Silajdzic recording] We have noticed and have been aware for some time of the presence of Russian mercenaries who are fighting on the aggressor's side in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We have been trying to make the Russian Government aware of it in many ways, and to draw their attention to that, hoping that this practice would stop. However, this practice has continued.

Therefore, at the session of the government scheduled for tomorrow, we will ask the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to contact the Russian Government with the intention of finding out what the Russian Government intends to do with the dead bodies of Russian citizens, mercenaries in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In other words, what it intends to do with the three that were killed in the recent fighting on Mosevacko Brdo. I can even tell you their names. The men who were killed, the citizens of the Russian Federation, are called Slavin, born in 1970; Trihotkov, born in 1962; and a certain Shatorov from Krasnoyarsk. We have the serial number of his passport.

So, we want to know what the Russian Government intends to do with the bodies of the killed Russian citizens, who were unfortunately killed while fighting against the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, on the side of the Serbian aggressor. [end recording]

Government Views Mercenaries

AU2110135394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A session of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Republican and Federal Government is being held in Sarajevo today. Numerous topical issues are on the agenda, including a draft report on the government's work in the period from 23 June to 20 October this year. At the very beginning, the government examined the situation regarding persistent and increasing participation of Russian mercenaries in the offensives against Bosnia-Herzegovina on the side of the aggressor's army. Mehmedalija Sisic reports the proceedings so far:

[Begin recording] [Alijasisic] Regarding the participation of the Russian mercenaries on the aggressor's side, Prime Minister Dr. Haris Silajdzic said:

[Silajdzic] Today, we will charge the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with contacting the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry and protesting the increasing number of Russian citizens in the ranks of the aggressor's army and asking them about their intentions regarding the deceased Russian citizens on our territory, that is, the territory of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and therefore, regarding the case of [word indistinct]. Bearing in mind that the number of Russian mercenaries on our territory is sizable, one can expect that there will be further such cases and it would be good to agree matters in principle if the Russian Government fails to take serious steps to reduce the inflow of Russian mercenaries on our territory. In light of this, allow me to quote you some passages from a report on this subject and inform you about some details of this phenomena.

The Russian mercenaries have been engaged in the army of the so-called Srpska republic from the very beginning of the aggression against the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. According to our estimates, in the initial period of the war until the end of 1993 the number of engaged mercenaries amounted to approximately 2,000 to 5,000 men. Since the beginning of 1994, we have again noted an increasing trend in the number of Russian mercenaries. In this way at the beginning of January, (?during) the offensive on Olovo, the arrival of a large unit of Russian mercenaries [word indistinct] was announced. In April, a large number of men were identified on Mt. Ozren whom the Serbian side [words indistinct]. At the end of the same month a unit of Russian mercenaries was deployed in the area of Pale-Sokolac together with volunteers from the so-called Republic of Yugoslavia. [word indistinct] brigade. This unit took part in the offensives on the Vares-Olovo front.

We also hold proof [word indistinct] Grbavica [words indistinct] a great number of Russian mercenaries are situated as well as a small group in Nedzarici. There are Russian mercenaries on Mt. Trebevic, on the Olovo-Vares front, and in Pale, too. The recruiting centers, where mercenaries are trained before being sent on the front are situated in Petrovaradin, in the Zorka Sabac factory, in Vrginmost, Batajnica, and Mt. Sara, in the area of the Military Resort Center, [word indistinct] along the Drina River where provocations never cease. Up to 4,000 mercenaries can often be spotted on these roads, [words indistinct].

Mercenaries arrive in Bosnia-Herzegovina either in organizations of the special services or through the so-called Bureau of the Srpska republic. Most frequently, they have all their documents taken away from them and are issued with false Yugoslav passports or [words indistinct] of deceased aggressor's soldiers.

Recently, the tendency to [passage indistinct]. In the absence of fighters of Serbian nationality who would be

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willing to die for the fascist idea [word indistinct] the people in Pale, they are recruiting Russian mercenaries in increasing numbers [words indistinct] and the fact that the Russian Government has so far done nothing, despite our [words indistinct]. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Serb General Views Relations With UNPROFOR

AU2310185894 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 20 Oct 94 p 2

[Interview with Major General Manojlo Milovanovic, chief of staff of the Srpska army in Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Biljana Djurdjevic; place and date not given: "Debasement of Blue Helmets"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Djurdjevic] The relations between the army of the Srpska republic and the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] and the role of NATO in the "Bosnian war" were the main issues with which we turned to Major General Manojlo Milovanovic, chief of staff of the Srpska republic army.

Mr. General, talks are under way in New York between the United Nations and NATO representatives over the concept of the future protection of the so-called exclusion zones, which implies more frequent NATO air strikes. They will also no longer be announced to the Srpska republic army. What do you think about this?

[Milovanovic] This is a very complex problem. In order to see it in the right light, the following has to be kept in mind: First of all, NATO is a military alliance. The reasons for its existence have ceased to exist with the collapse of the Warsaw Pact, and now it is in a position of trying to save its skin. We know that when it was formed, there were no provisions for NATO actions outside the member countries, so the things that have been happening to us with air strikes carried out by this alliance on Srpska republic territory is without precedent. It cannot be justified. On the other hand, we realize the kind of machinery that is behind NATO, and why it is fighting so desperately for its survival. You see, if it were to be dissolved, there would be complete chaos, particularly among the officers who have been building their social status and rating in that alliance. Member countries have been sending their top officers to NATO as a rule, and the officers that "have stayed at home" would not be too pleased with their return, with having to compete with them.

Second, and in my mind even more significant, the dissolution of NATO would affect dramatically the military industries of the United States and its West European allies. It is not hard to imagine the army of unemployed that this would create, what social tensions this would cause. Finally, imagine the reactions of multinational companies when faced with the loss of profit from arms sales.

Therefore, we know why NATO wants to play the role of European policeman at any cost, just as we know that UNPROFOR is standing in its way at the moment. It seems to us that the United Nations is more objective when it comes to realizing the depths of the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, and naturally in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. We get the impression that NATO wants to place the emphasis of its activities on doing something at any cost, and they do not care one bit whether that solves anything or just further complicates the situation. That is why we hope that, at the meeting in New York, the UN strategy in solving the conflict in this region will win over NATO's. The strategy of influential military elements on the Balkans, for example, will depend on this decision.

[Djurdjevic] If, however, NATO gets the green light from the United Nations for its conflict-solving concept, in what position will that put UNPROFOR in Bosnia?

[Milovanovic] In a very delicate one. I suppose then that the UNPROFOR command would try to pull out its peace forces from the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, which would cause many problems and take a long time. I know that UNPROFOR fears reprisals from any of the sides, the Srpska republic army, the Croatian Defense Council, the Croatia Army, or the forces of the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Army if NATO were to launch air strikes against their positions. I do not know, nor is it for me to say, what the reactions would be of the conflicting sides, but I can have a pretty good guess. What I know for a fact, though, is that the Srpska republic army has no intention to retaliate against UNPROFOR, even though the blue helmets have not carried out their tasks in accordance with their promises and impartially.

[Djurdjevic] Do you have any evidence for such a claim?

[Milovanovic] From the time of UNPROFOR's arrival until now, one can say that the Serb side has allowed it to carry out over 70 percent of its mission in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. Such a thing would have been impossible had it not been for the cooperativeness of the Serb side. And what has the Serb side got for this? Let us start with the example to handing over the Sarajevo airport for the deliveries of humanitarian aid. Has the Serb side received the amount of aid it should get in relation to the size of its population and the refugees in this city and in others? No, not even nearly enough!

Also, not one, and I repeat, not a single agreement reached between the Serb side and UNPROFOR has been followed through! Take for example the agreements on the demilitarization of Srebrenica, Zepa, Gorazde, Mt. Igman, Mt. Bjelasnica, and so on. Have these zones been demilitarized by the Muslim side, too, as UNPROFOR promised they would be? Of course they have not been since attacks on the Serb positions have been carried out from beside UNPROFOR. The blue helmets have never preempted these attacks by disarming the Muslim soldiers. They have never prevented or punished them for their offensive activities. We have a very bitter experience with UNPROFOR, and that is that it always gets involved when it has to prevent a

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military defeat of the Muslims, but never to stop a Muslim offensive on the Serbs.

Another thing: So far, approximately 179 members of the peace forces have been killed or wounded in this region. It has been proven that not one of them was killed by a Serb hand. On the other hand, 37 soldiers of the Srpska republic army have been killed by UNPROFOR or died as a result of UNPROFOR actions.

It seems to me that, because of the above, UNPROFOR is now trying to improve relations with the Srpska republic army.

[Djurdjevic] What are the signs of this improvement of relations?

[Milovanovic] One gets the impression that it is only now that they are trying to be impartial, that they arrived in the former Yugoslavia and Bosnia with certain preconceptions and directives that did not correspond to reality. Now they are insisting on more frequent contacts and on regular consultations with the warring sides, including the Serb one. That is why I think that the UNPROFOR command is against the NATO concept. Also, in the narrow "buffer zone," in which the blue helmets are sometimes only 25 meters away from either of the warring sides, they could easily become the victims of NATO pilots' mistakes, and such mistakes are possible.

[Djurdjevic] When it comes to cooperation between the Srpska republic army and UNPROFOR, I suppose that the focus of the current talks is the presence of the Muslim troops on Mt. Igman and Mt. Bjelasnica and their offensive activities in these areas.

[Milovanovic] Perhaps some of your readers are not clear on what UNPROFOR has to do with the solution to this problem, so I will briefly sum it up. Under the pressure of the international community, but also the political leadership of the Srpska republic, and the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], and to enable the Geneva conference to proceed, on 14 August 1993 the Srpska republic army was asked to withdraw from Mt. Igman and Mt. Bjelasnica, which it had under its full control, to the eastern slopes of these mountains—that is, to the positions of 30 July 1993. An agreement was signed then between General (Hays), the then chief of staff of UNPROFOR for Bosnia-Herzegovina, and General [Stjepan] Siber, the then chief of staff of the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. This agreement envisaged the withdrawal of our forces under the condition that we were handing these mountains to UNPROFOR, and certainly not to the Muslims.

UNPROFOR then took the responsibility of taking control of some 13 vital points, and it did so for the first few months. The entire region was left without both the Serb and the Muslim forces and indeed became a demilitarized zone. However, with the start of the spring Muslim offensive this year, UNPROFOR allowed the Muslims to transfer over 10,000 of their soldiers from Sarajevo to Mt. Igman and Mt. Bjelasnica through the Butmir airport and underground tunnels dug under the airport. The members of the so-called Bosnia- Herzegovina Army launched an attack during their autumn offensive from these positions on the Serb positions on the Nisici Heights and around Trnovo. Our insistence that UNPROFOR fulfill its obligation did not bear fruit, so that the first crime was carried out by the Muslims against the Serb soldiers on 22 August 1994 near Babin Do on Mt. Igman. Then, literally before the eyes of the French contingent of blue helmets, three Serb soldiers were massacred and two captured. While this was happening, UNPROFOR was only 70-100 meters away, and it did not even inform its superior command about this, let alone the Serb side.

Our reaction to this was that—at the meeting on 25 August with General Van Bal, the then UNPROFOR chief of staff for Bosnia-Herzegovina—we demanded an urgent meeting between the chief of staffs of the three sides to go to Mt. Igman and Mt. Bjelasnica to see the factual situation, including the presence of the Muslim army on these mountains. It took a month and a half to get the agreement from the Muslim side, and finally the trip to Mt. Igman and Mt. Bjelasnica was agreed for 13 October 1994. However, it has still not taken place, and in the meantime, the Muslims carried out another criminal act. On 5 October, UNPROFOR let the Muslim forces through the demilitarized zone on Mt. Igman, near Proskok, who then killed 21 people, four of whom were women. Since that event, we have taken a more rigorous approach toward UNPROFOR and demand that the peacekeepers fulfill their obligations on Mt. Igman and Mt. Bjelasnica.

[Djurdjevic] Is it true that a group of 800 Muslim soldiers were let through the territory of the republic of Serbian Krajina and that they then attacked the Srpska republic army from the rear near Bihac?

[Milovanovic] The Bihac operation was a spontaneous one since—after the "successes" of the 5th Corps of the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Army against their own people in the Cazin Krajina, and the collapse of the forces of the autonomous province of western Bosnia—the 5th Corps started an operation to capture the territory offered to the Muslims in the Contact Group plan—that is, the region of [Bosanski] Petrovac and Prijedor. The Srpska republic army launched a counterattack to halt the forces of the 5th Corps and clashes occurred along the Una River, which are still under way. Our aim is to prevent the breakthrough of the Muslim army to Petrovac and Prijedor, and we do not have any other political aims in the region.

As for your remark about someone letting the Muslims through the territory of the republic of Serbian Krajina, I do not want to comment on that, since every unit, every army is duty bound to secure its flanks and rear lines with its own forces.

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[Box 1, p 2]

Doboj and Brcko

[Djurdjevic] The clashes around Doboj and Brcko have been in the focus of public attention over the last couple of months. Has the situation significantly changed there now?

[Milovanovic] The Doboj and Brcko fronts are still very active, just like the areas around Trnovo and Rogoj. However, the fighting around Doboj and Brcko is not so intensive now since, on the one hand, the Muslim-Croat forces have not sorted out their differences over Posavina and, on the other hand, since our forces there are well entrenched and organized and prepared for clashes in that region.

[Box 2, p 2]

They Are Waiting

[Djurdjevic] What will happen if the arms embargo against the former Bosnia-Herzegovina is lifted?

[Milovanovic] We are not particularly bothered by that since the embargo has never really held and the Muslims have been getting arms through "humanitarian aid" and from Croatia. Croatia is particularly interested in controlling that very profitable business, but it also wants as many Muslims and Serbs as possible to get killed in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina because the Croats observe the old Latin proverb "Divide and rule." I am convinced they are waiting in the shadows to see the outcome of the conflict in Bosnia and then they will join the stronger party.

Karadzic Addresses Serb Krajina Army Officers

LD2110183894 Sarajevo Radio Republike Srpske Program for Abroad in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Radovan Karadzic, supreme commander of the Srpska republic army [VRS], addressed the 1st Krajina Corps officers in Banja Luka's VRS club yesterday evening.

It is my pleasure to address such a large number of Serb officers. To be a Serb soldier was once a title and an honor. God willing, it will be so again. With these words Karadzic began his introductory speech for officers. In his speech Karadzic dwelt on the international community's attitude to the Srpska republic.

Having said that there are reasons for optimism, because of reports that the proposed maps for territorial separation may be altered, Karadzic said that the West is repentant for causing a quarrel between us and Serbia and Russia. The only way they could put pressure on us was through Serbia and Russia. They can no longer do this, just as they cannot publicly admit they were at fault.

We are the party which is most interested in peace because we are the ones who have won and we know what we want. We are also in favor of peace because we have no surplus of people. We cannot accept a peace plan which leaves us without some of the most important territories. However, we will have to make some concessions and we must not be displeased about it.

All of you present here, you have waged the most successful war in Serbian history. For the first time since Dusan's empire [14th century] the Serbs west of the Drina have a state and for the first time the war against Serbs was waged outside Serbia. We have not only created a Serb state, but we have also helped another one, as the republic of Serb Krajina could not have survived without our support. Likewise, Serbia has not been destroyed in this war, and that is the guarantee of our postwar economic and overall development and progress, Karadzic said.

Sarajevo: Serb Shelling of Bugojno Resumed

AU2410101494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 24 Oct 94

[Report by Kemal Balihodzic from Bugojno]

[FBIS Translated Text] At 0700 GMT this morning the Bugojno civilian settlements were shelled by artillery from Chetnik positions in the temporarily occupied parts of Kupres region again, for the sixth day in a row. Howitzers, guns, and mortars have devastated the civilian settlements and inflicted enormous material damage.

Luckily, maximum caution exercised by the civilians resulted in other consequences. The general alarm remains in force for the civilians, [words indistinct].

Provocations, Infantry Fire Reported in Sarajevo

AU2410101094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 23 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Information Service of the 1st Corps reports that on the Sarajevo front last night the aggressor was in action with a mortar, a portable launcher, and with rifle grenades against our defense lines in Hotonj and Sokolje.

From the barracks in Rajlovac the chetniks fired several mortar shells, rifle grenades, and portable launcher projectiles at Lemezi. We have also registered intense infantry fire from Batici and Rajlovac barracks at our positions, and from Nedzarici at Dobrinja and Stupsko Brdo.

Muslim Violations in Sarajevo Exclusion Zone

LD2310185394 Sarajevo Radio Republike Srpske Program for Abroad in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 23 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Muslim forces are continuing to violate the agreement on the cessation of combat

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activities in the exclusion zone around Sarajevo. Sporadic infantry arms attacks have been registered along all Serb defense lines in this sector of the front. More diverse and intensive operations have been concentrated in the direction of Brezovaca and Ilidza. [passage omitted]

Muslim forces have been launching attacks with different types of weapons in the upland sectors of the front as well. Further reinforcements have been spotted in the exclusion zone, showing that the enemy has no intention of withdrawing from there despite the insistence of the peacekeeping forces.

Muslims Kill 12 Serbs in Fighting Near Doboj

LD2310185994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 23 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The fiercest fighting is taking place on the Doboj battlefield, where the Chetniks are using all available artillery and infantry forces to (?break through) the defense lines of the 109th Doboj brigade, especially in the region of (?Vojan-Nezatvorica-Glavica). The aim of the Chetnik attacks on the defense lines is to extend the security zone around Doboj, and they have engaged four brigades to achieve this: the first light infantry and the second armored-mechanized brigades from Doboj, the fourth reconnaissance brigade from Banja Luka, and the 16th Krajina brigade. They are not making any progress, despite these forces.

Soldiers of the 109th Doboj brigade are successfully crushing these attacks and inflicting losses on the enemy in terms of personnel and equipment. In the fighting around Elevation (?Tocko) alone, the courageous defenders of this brigade have killed 12 Chetniks and they also destroyed a [word indistinct]-mm Bofors gun, [word indistinct], and an 82-mm mortar battery in Kostajnica. A good quantity of infantry weapons, grenades, and ammunition has been captured. [passage omitted]

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Foreign Minister Views UN Resolution on Croatia

LD2210212894 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 22 Oct 94

[Interview with Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and foreign minister, by unidentified announcer at the HTV studios in Zagreb—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] The fourth special political committee of the UN General Assembly this evening adopted the resolution on the situation in the occupied regions of Croatia. Let us recall briefly, these regions under Serbian control are referred to as occupied and it is stressed that they are an integral part of the Republic of Croatia. Their peaceful reintegration is called for and the importance is stressed of the mutual recognition of the international borders of all states on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Serbia and Montenegro are called on to respect all resolutions so far of the UN Security Council and the cessation of military and logistical support for the self-proclaimed authorities in occupied areas. The mandate of the UN protected areas is considered in this context. Initial official and subsequent assessments indicate that this is a historical document. Is that really so?

Our guest this evening is Mate Granic, the deputy prime minister and foreign minister. Good evening Dr. Granic. How would you react to that question—is this and to what extent is it a historical resolution?

[Granic] This is certainly the strongest document passed by the United Nations as far as the Republic of Croatia is concerned and it is the result of numerous diplomatic efforts, including meetings between President Tudjman and President Clinton, the visit of the holy father, meetings with all foreign ministers of the permanent members of the UN Security Council and many other meetings at ambassadorial level at the United Nations and in countries where we have diplomatic missions, and at international conferences.

Where does the importance of this document lie? It refers clearly for the first time to the occupied areas of the Republic of Croatia and interprets as such the current situation in regions supervised by UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces]. On the other hand, it obliges Belgrade to take responsibility for the situation in the occupied regions and for the ethnic cleansing which has occured. Why is this a far-reaching responsibility? Because this will surely influence all our future decisions with regard to the proposals of the Contact Group, to war damages, to war crimes prosecutions and of course our basic stands on how to reintegrate the UNPA's [UN Protected Areas], our occupied regions, into the legal system of the Republic of Croatia. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] The General Assembly has its executive body, the Security Council, which adopts the most important binding decisions. To what extent will this resolution in your view influence future events in the Security Council?

[Granic] This resolution does not have binding powers, is not binding. Only resolutions of the Security Council are binding, but it certainly has a very significant influence not only on the Security Council but also on the work of the Contact Group. Croatia is left in no doubt about its territorial integrity, about its sovereignty, about the completeness of Croatia and any discussion about surrendering any part of its territory is out of the question.

[Announcer] The European Union [EU], as mentioned in the debate, is proposing comprehensive autonomy for the parts of the UNPA's with a Serbian majority. Do you know what this implies, do you have any details about these documents?

[Granic] The resolution clearly states that this is possible within the letter and spirit of the Croatian Constitution and I would also repeat that the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, the constitutional law and the peace initiatives of President Tudjman—these are our boundaries and we will not accept anything beyond these.

[Announcer] The EU also proposes the soonest possible renewal of negotiations with the Serbian side. Is this likely to be soon?

[Granic] I believe it will be, but I repeat that it will be on the basis that I have just mentioned.

Government Denies Pale Talks; Karadzic Cited

LD2210084694 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2225 GMT 21 Oct 94

[From the "Picture Versus Picture" program]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The government office for public relations and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have denied TANJUG and Belgrade Television reports about secret talks in which Prime Minister Nikica Valentic and Foreign Minister Mate Granic, both representing the Croatian side, allegedly took part. The Croatian mission at the United Nations also denies any secret talks between the Croatian Government and the Belgrade satellites. At the same time, the Croatian permanent mission at the United Nations stresses that Belgrade deliberately spread false information in order to hamper the Contact Group's initiative for a solution to the problem of the Croatian occupied areas.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic also made a statement, denying the fact [as received] that Mate Granic went to Pale. Karadzic also warned the Bosnian Serbs that Belgrade wants to cause a rift between the so-called Krajina Serbs and the Bosnian Serbs. However, in this context, Radovan Karadzic is trying to throw mud at Croatia by quoting some kind of gentleman's agreement on an alleged exchange of territories. [passage omitted]

[Begin Karadzic recording] Contacts between the two governments do not deal with the exchange of territories.

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We can discuss the exchange of territories only with President Tudjman. A long time ago, a year ago, we made a gentleman's agreement to solve the problems of the Dubrovnik hinterland and the Prevlaka peninsula, or rather, access to the sea for the Serbs. We have the right of access to the sea without any exchange of territory.

The 10th article of the Corfu declaration, signed on behalf of Serbs from Bosnia-Herzegovina by Dusan Vasiljevic, says that the sea belongs to everyone. However, we know that President Tudjman and the Croats find it difficult to concede anything on the basis of that declaration because nothing is being done in line with international legal documents. We therefore accepted that this would be regulated through an exchange of territory, not concessions. This is a way out which is much more honorable for Croatia; so much more honorable that they could in fact obtain as much as nine times more territory in the Dubrovnik hinterland than the Serbs, who would obtain some 30-35 km of poor and rocky coastline. But that would at the same time solve the problem of Prevlaka, which would no longer be a problem.

There is no question of anyone being allowed to discuss with anyone else the problems of Serb Krajina, and a solution to that crisis without its president who, under the constitution, represents the repuolic of Serb Krajina. That person is now President Martic. Our talks about Prevlaka involve only our part of the Trebinje municipality, the one facing Dubrovnik, in order to enable Dubrovnik to develop tourism and to have a hinterland.

I do not know whether Serb Krajina would accept a confederal or federal status with Croatia. We cannot negotiate on that. I know one thing for sure: We will support Serb Krajina whatever it decides to do.

I know that talks on the improvement of economic relations are under way. I think that we will accept any decision by Serb Krajina, whatever it feels is not dangerous for its security. The issues concerning water and electricity do not pose a threat to their security, and if they decide to accept that kind of cooperation with Croatia we will lend them our resolute support. I think that this could be very useful for both Croatia and Krajina. But, as far as anything else is concerned, we will never hold talks on behalf of Serb Krajina and we do not recommend anyone else holding negotiations on behalf of Serb Krajina without President Martic and the full leadership of Serb Krajina. [end recording]

Slovene Interior Minister Views Border Situation

AU2410093794 Split NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Oct 94 p 5

[Interview with Slovene Interior Minister Andrej Ster by Anita Malenica; place and date not given: "The Security of the Border Is Our Main Aim"]

[FBIS Translated Text] One of the most burning issues and problems in Croatia today is certainly the decision by the Slovene parliament to annex four Croatian villages to Slovenia through the Law on Municipalities. We talked to Andrej Ster, minister of the interior of the Republic of Slovenia, about this issue, as well as about other contentious issues and the means of achieving successful cooperation.

[Ster] The position of the Slovene Government concerning this controversial issue is clear. I believe that the Croatian public is familiar with it. The disputed area is a subject of bilateral negotiations, and the bilateral committee has been discussing this issue as well as the other points of dispute between our two countries. The Slovene Government has raised this issue and proposed to the Slovene State authority to reexamine its decision on this disputable law. We did this simply because we believe that controversial issues with the neighboring states must be resolved through dialogue and in a European way, as our experience has shown that this is the only way.

[Malenica] The border problems between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Slovenia have recently led to a chill in relations. How is the border controlled with the dispute not having been resolved?

[Ster] From the moment our countries became independent the principle has been that the entire border be controlled—not only the line itself, but the entire border region. We do have some disputed regions, but, in agreement with the Croatian police, we are trying to prevent these problems from causing border control to become ineffective. This is why we have been controlling both sides, as it is less of a problem than if part of the region is uncontrolled.

[Malenica] How are the operative activities carried out, considering that Sveta Gera, the Bay of Piran, etc. are still disputed? Are they internally arranged between the Croatian and Slovene Interior Ministries?

[Ster] Precisely. Both police forces work at the border in a spirit of cooperation. It is important that they carry out their orders, and that the border is safe. We have had several meetings about this recently, at which we arranged that our cooperation must be as good as possible, and professionally at a high level. All the disputable issues will be resolved by the bilateral committee, which was formed precisely for this reason.

[Malenica] How was border control regulated during the tourist season?

[Ster] The Piran Bay area was supposed to be controlled for boaters, divers, and so on. In cooperation with the Croatian police we managed to carry out the border control from 1 June to 1 October successfully. I hope that this cooperation is a real step toward European standards. I think we have done much already, but I believe we can do much better.

[Malenica] Since both our countries are relatively young, and since they are at the transition stage, many laws are

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passed and changed along the way. Could you give us a short review and comparison of the Slovene and Croatian laws on internal affairs?

[Ster] The Slovene Interior Ministry has been preparing a new law on public order and security. With this act our ministry will be given new tasks in the area of government administration. It is quite understandable that this law be accompanied by the Law on Employees. As far as I know, Croatia has passed the Law on Employees. This shows that both states have been working intensively on the development of internal affairs, as well as the government administration. Naturally, this is understandable—both countries have left the old system, and they have faced similar problems.

[Malenica] There have been certain problems with work permits for the citizens of the Republic of Croatia who worked or are working on the territory of the Republic of Slovenia. Have these problems been dealt with?

[Ster] As far as work permits are concerned, the employment office issues them in accordance with the Law on the Employment of Foreigners. Indeed, the Ministry of Interior has no direct influence in that area. However, to my knowledge, one of the major problems concerned the Croatians who are employed at the Krsko Nuclear Power Plant, but it was dealt with at a meeting some 10 days ago.

[Malenica] How was the issue of citizenship dealt with in Slovenia? What are the conditions for acquiring Slovene citizenship?

[Ster] At present Slovenia has four kinds of citizenship, and I believe these are common in this area of legislation. The requests for citizenship created the most problems. The law regulated the issue of those who lived in Slovenia, but did not have citizenship. The condition was that they lived in Slovenia during the last five years, and that their permanent residence was in Slovenia. There are some 170,000 such people, and the procedure took a long time. The conditions for acquiring Slovene citizenship are common and clear. Almost all the countries in the world have the same conditions. Our law was tested by the experts of the Council of Europe, the European Union, and the Commission for Human Rights, and the judgment was favorable.

[Malenica] Is there an agreement on extradition between Croatia and Slovenia?

[Ster] Extradition is a matter of agreement between the ministries of justice. The agreement between the two countries has been signed, but not yet ratified. I think there should be no problems with ratification.

However, the interior ministries have signed the agreement on the returning of all persons who cross the border illegally. The agreement has come to life, and very successfully. The security of the border is our main aim, and everything is subject to that.

[Malenica] You must be familiar with various actions, such as the recent action of detecting tax evasion in Croatia. Do you have similar actions in Slovenia, and do you have problems with economic crime?

[Ster] We have learned about the recent action in Croatia, both from official and unofficial sources. We support such actions because they contribute to the safety of the border. We believe that borders cannot only be controlled through repression, but that it is necessary to create the conditions for content people to live at the border, people who are ready for dialogue.

As far as the economic crime issue is concerned, economic crime is increasing in Slovenia. The Ministry has participated in creating a legal framework for fighting this kind of crime. The Social Accountancy Service will review all the cases, and the police will do their part of the work. When we have all done our job, I hope many of the conditions for economic crime in Slovenia will disappear.

Zagreb, Knin Compared on UNPROFOR Extension

95P20071 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 3 Oct 94 p 4

[FBIS Media Note] Three articles in the 3 October VECERNJE NOVOSTI sharply contrasted the reactions of Krajina Serbs and Croats to UN Resolution 947, which extended the mandate of the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] on the territory of former Yugoslavia by six months. One article contained the paper's perception of the Croatian Government's position, while the others featured the viewpoints of the republic of Serbian Krajina's [RSK] foreign minister, Milan Babic, and president, Milan Martic.

In an article titled "Knin Will (Not) Become a State" VECERNJE NOVOSTI charged that "Resolution 947 is seen in Zagreb primarily as a solid foundation for new political pressure on Serbia and the Serbs in Croatia to accept peaceful reintegration of Krajina into the Croatian state and judicial system." Zagreb, the paper said, "persistently accuses Knin of having closed the door to political dialogue and the Knin Serbs of being able to behave that way 'because they receive full support from Belgrade.'" VECERNJE NOVOSTI cited Vladimir Seks, vice president of the Croatian Assembly, as noting that the Serbs may be given a greater degree of autonomy but stating categorically that "Croatia definitely will not approve of any kind of federalization. Knin will definitely not become a state within Croatia."

By way of contrast, an article titled "Krajina Is Indivisible" cited an equally firm but diametrically opposed statement by RSK Foreign Minister Milan Babic, who welcomed the extended mandate but insisted that "any UNPROFOR activity leading toward separating any part of the RSK and joining it to Croatia is deemed unacceptable." He added that "we must warn the United

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Nations and inform all influential world powers who care to maintain peace in this part of Europe that they must respect the just demands of the Serbs not to allow the subordination of the RSK or any part of it to Croatia."

In the third article, titled "New Chance for Peace," RSK President Milan Martic interpreted the resolution as giving Croatia "another opportunity to accept our initiative to resolve through negotiations many contentious issues of interest to both sides." While proposing peaceful solutions, Martic warned that "in the event of military aggression by Croatia against the RSK," the Krajina Serbs would "request help from the Federal Republic of Serbia" as was "guaranteed" at the time of the Vance plan. Martic also pointed to an agreement between the Krajina Serbs and the Srpska "government." A continuation of the war, Martic declared, would be "much bloodier than the previous clashes" and would not "take the course imagined by Croatia." If Croatia decided to continue the war, he predicted, this would be a "suicidal step"—a step the Serbs "hope" the Croats won't take.

Conflict Over Evictions in Croatia

94P20051A

[FBIS Media Note] Several Croatian newspapers have reported cases of people being evicted from apartments in Croatia, citing allegations by human rights activists that the evictions are being carried out without court orders by the Croatian police and are openly supported by Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak.

The 28 September issue of the Split daily SLOBODNA DALMACIJA described the eviction of single mother Vesna Mosec and her two minor children from their Zagreb apartment. According to the article, at the scene about 70 activists belonging to the Human Rights Council of Croatia shouted at the policemen who evicted the woman. About 30 policemen, following a three-hour talk with Mosec, forcefully evicted the family from the apartment, which Mosec had received through her job, the article noted. The policemen also ejected from the apartment a group of activists who refused an order to leave, injuring two of them. The Croatian Army brought cardboard boxes for Mosec's possessions, the paper stated, adding that after she was evicted, members of the Croatian Army moved into the apartment.

The 4 October issue of SLOBODNA DALMACIJA reported on an attempt to evict another family, the Korkuts, from their apartment in Zagreb. The eviction was postponed, according to the paper, as a result of the intervention of more than 100 people—representatives of human rights groups, religious associations, political parties, and cultural organizations—who gathered at the apartment. According to the paper, the gathering, at which more than 20 journalists were present, was organized by Croatian Helsinki Committee Chairman Zvonimir Cicak, who said that the committee had already been present at 50 evictions, indicating, he declared, that the authorities were "systematicly ignoring" the committee's protests. The paper cited newly elected Helsinki Committee member Ivo Banac, who was among those assembled, as saying that the evictions were just another form of ethnic cleansing "within the context" of the war. He rejected "the concept that President Tudjman has been supporting in private, and sometimes in public, according to which members of ethnic minorities should not constitute more than 5 percent of the population of Croatia." He maintained that there are "no ethnically homogeneous states" and that they could not exist because creating one would "constitute a criminal project." "All those who support" such an attempt "should be chastised every day by public opinion." SLOBODNA DALMACIJA also cited Stipe Mesic, president of the Independent Democrats, as saying that evictions are just another proof that President Tudjman does not understand the meaning of democracy, and Daniel Ivin, president of the Association of Acquired Rights, as attacking Croatian Defense Minister Susak for being behind the evictions. "Susak's patrons," Ivin charged, are "individual organizations from the United States." The article contained no further information on these organizations.

The 30 September issue of VJESNIK, the Zagreb daily, reported that Serbian National Party (SNS) leaders had also condemned the evictions, predicting that they were harbingers of future mass evictions. SNS Vice President Veselin Pejnovic noted, according to the paper, that of the 450,000 Serbs who once lived in the free parts of Croatia only 150,000 remain and that about 25,000 Serbs had moved out of Zagreb alone.

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Parliament To Hold Vote of Confidence 23 Oct

AU2110182594 Skopje MIC in English 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The speaker of the Macedonian Parliament, Stojan Andov, scheduled the 80th session of the parliament for Sunday, October 23. The daily agenda consists of one item, confidence in the Government of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia].

The session is convened at the request of 22 MPs [members of parliament], while the vote of confidence in the government will take place at 2400, i.e. after the expiration of three days from the tabling of the question concerning confidence, in accordance with the Macedonian Constitution.

Electoral Commission Refuses To Cancel Vote

AU2210211194 Paris AFP in English 2058 GMT 22 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Skopje, Oct 22 (AFP)—Macedonia's [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] Electoral Commission turned down on Saturday [22 October] a call by the main opposition party to cancel last Sunday's [16 October] first round of voting in presidential and legislative elections.

On Monday the extreme right wing nationalist VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity] called for the vote to be scrapped, arguing that polling had been marred by many irregularities.

The commission found that the demand was "without foundation." But it did indicate that voting in 13 polling stations had been declared void following incidents of which it did not give details.

With results counted in 115 of the country's 120 electoral districts, ten of the 1,765 candidates up for election had been elected in the first round of voting while 389 had qualified for the second round on October 30, according to figures from the commission which had earlier said 11 candidates had been successful in the first round.

Of the 108 candidates put forward by the ruling left-wing coalition 86 went through to the second round, while 84 of the 118 VRMO-DPMNE candidates and 68 of the 115 Democratic Party hopeful also qualified.

The Democratic Prosperity Party, which draws support from the Albanian minority, has 31 candidates through to the second round of voting.

The VMRO-DPMNE said Friday it would boycott the second round if the results of first round presidential elections, also held Sunday and won by President Kiro Gligorov, were not declared void. [passage omitted]

Official Views 'Objections'

AU2210172294 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 21 Oct 94 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Kiro Gligorov Once Again President of the State"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to unofficial, but not yet final, results, Kiro Gligorov has once again been elected president of the state of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia]. The State Electoral Commission announced this at a late news conference last night. Of a total number of 1,360,729 registered voters in 120 electoral districts, 1,058,130 voted, which is 77.76 percent. In addition, 125,473 people voted by presenting documentation on their right to vote although they were not registered on the lists.

Presidential candidate Ljubisa Georgievski got 196,936 votes, which is 14.47 percent of the total number of registered voters, while Kiro Gligorov got 713,529 votes, which is 52.44 percent. There were 130,133 invalid votes cast during the presidential elections, while 17,532 voting slips are missing. The Commission explained that some voters took the slips, but did not place them into the ballot boxes.

The president of the State Electoral Commission, Petar Najdanov, emphasized that a procedure is underway on the protection of election rights, as is stipulated by law. Asked how many objections have arrived to the Commission, he replied that only Ljubisa Georgievski's objection had arrived. It was also stated at the news conference that the results of the votes for parliamentary members will be announced today, after the Commission has reviewed the data.

Legal Experts Say Elections Cannot Be Annulled

LD2210144494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1353 GMT 22 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Skopje, 22 Oct (TANJUG)—The elections in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia cannot be annulled because the law does not provide for this. The opposition's ultimatum to annul the elections by this evening is therefore impossible to meet.

According to legal experts, it is impossible to annul the whole of the first round of the presidential and parliamentary elections (held 16 October). They can be annulled only in certain polling stations or electoral wards. [passage omitted]

It was announced here last night that the VRMO-DPMNE [Internal Revolutionary Macedonian Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] renounced its request for an extraordinary Sobranje [parliament] session tomorrow to vote on confidence in the government, which it requested several days ago. The deputies of that strongest parliamentary

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opposition party now demand that a session be convened at which "the irregularities of the elections so far" will be discussed with no time limit on the debate. [passage omitted]

Ruling Coalition Ahead in First Election Round

AU2210150994 Paris AFP in English 1453 GMT 22 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Skopje, Oct 22 (AFP)—Macedonia's [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] ruling centre-left coalition was well ahead in the first round of legislative elections whose results were announced Saturday [22 October], electoral officials said.

After votes were counted in 105 out of 120 voter districts, 11 candidates had won a first-round majority in Sunday's [16 October] election, electoral officials said.

Nine candidates of the ruling Alliance for Macedonia had won seats along with two candidates of the smaller Party of Democratic Prosperity, which is backed by the ethnic-Albanian minority.

Ruling alliance candidates were ahead in 66 constituencies against four for the far-right nationalist opposition, the VMRO- DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity].

The first round of voting was annulled in eight constituencies because of irregularities, the electoral commission said.

A second round of legislative voting is due to take place on October 30.

The VMRO-DPMNE however accused the ruling coalition of "falsifying" the results.

The party said Friday it would boycott the second round if the results of first round presidential elections, also held Sunday and won by President Kiro Gligorov, were not voided.

According to the electoral commission, no second round of presidential elections is necessary because Gligorov won 52.44 percent of the vote in the first round against his rival Ljubisa Georgijevski's 14.47 percent.

However, the opposition withdrew a censure motion it had placed in parliament, following which Parliamentary Speaker Stojan Andov summoned an emergency session of parliament for the start of next week.

The wrong-footed party said a debate so soon would not allow its representatives enough time to prepare the debate.

Gligorov Calls on Citizens To Vote in 2d Round

AU2210163494 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 21 Oct 94 pp 1,3

["Z.P." and "K.C"-initialed report: "Macedonia Proceeds on the Road to Peace and Democracy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Just after the end of the news conference of the State Election Commission at which the official results of the presidential elections were announced, Kiro Gligorov, who won the necessary majority votes and has been reelected as head of the state for the next five years, held a meeting with journalists. Gligorov expressed great satisfaction that the participation of the people in the presidential elections was large. He said that this percentage is rarely found, even in countries with established traditional democratic systems. In expressing his gratitude, Gligorov noted that even in the past four years for which the parliament had elected him a president, he could feel the confidence of the people, and now that the citizens themselves have elected him, he feels greater responsibility and honor. "I think," Gligorov said, "that this is support for proceeding with the policy of peace, good neighboring relations, the affirmation of our country in the world, internal stability, coexistence, mutual understanding, and tolerance. This policy has yielded results in the past four years, and our people have demonstrated a great understanding for it.

"Regardless of political, national, and religious affiliations, as president of all citizens, I shall have an equal disposition toward all, and I shall represent all citizens as citizens of this country," Gligorov said.

"The president of the republic must be a factor of cohesion in the country, in order to demonstrate the unity of our state. This should also be the case in the future, when other candidates will take this position."

President Kiro Gligorov then said a few words about what is ahead of us in the forthcoming period. "I think that Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] must move quickly. We have a lot of work to do, the situation in the region is very complicated, the solutions to questions on which our peace and tranquility depend have not been found, but I hope that we shall find them soon after the war ends." According to the president, parallel with that, we shall have to make move quickly to implement reforms in the political system, in civil society, and in everything that is related to the market economy: reconstruction, modernization, and the creation of a state rule that will be able to deal with this complex problem. Gligorov said that one must not forget that our option for the future is to be a part of Europe, which means that all reforms must be adapted to the standards of the countries that are members of the European Union. "The market economy has its foundations in accelerated privatization," Gligorov emphasized.

Gligorov then spoke about foreign policy, particularly pointing out that there are several basic tasks. In his view, the first task is to proceed with the peaceful policy, with good-neighborly relations. He said that we shall reach out a hand to everybody, but no one will be privileged. We shall have active relationships, but clearly defined stances on our independence.

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"In the Balkans," Gligorov emphasized, "we must demonstrate important initiatives for the improvement of relations. Only free, independent, and sovereign states can establish relations on full equality and they look for ways of forming connections that are in the interests of their neighbors." Everything that is imposed, according to the president, does not correspond to reality. He pledged the opening of the borders, the opening of new roads, and economic cooperation. "All those who are oriented toward Europe will find the real connections in which the Balkan can finally become a region of the development of democratic and economic processes," Gligorov said.

President Gligorov reviewed the completed presidential elections and the forthcoming second round of parliamentary elections. "We could see from the first round," he said, "that only 10 candidates were elected, while most of the 110 will be elected in the second round. This means that all those that are interested have equal chances in the second election round. If they end with the formation of a parliament elected by the people," Gligorov pointed out, "it will be a great victory for our young democracy. We shall be an example in the Balkans, showing that persistence and clear political vision can create the conditions for a real democratic life. The fact that all foreign observers, from the Council of Europe and the CSCE, assessed the elections as regular, that there was an enormous turnout and a democratic struggle among the parties, means that this process must be completed in the same atmosphere during the second election round. Anything else would mean that we are by-passing the hitherto course and achievements. Neither as a nation, nor as a state can we allow that to happen." He expects that the people will show the same interest in the second election round as it did in the first. That is why Gligorov called on all citizens to express their will once again at the forthcoming parliamentary election round in order to complete the elections in the most democratic and civilized way. "By doing this," he said, "we shall show Europe and the world that what has been going on over the past four years, was not by accident or a brief episode, but that it is a course with a past and future." At the end, Gligorov thanked all the journalists present for their cooperation so far, emphasizing that we have the kind of mass media that we should be pleased with.

VRMO-DPMNE Disputes Election Results

LD2110181094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1707 GMT 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje, 21 Oct (TANJUG)—The largest Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] opposition party this afternoon refuted the announcement by the state electoral commission last night that Kiro Gligorov, the incumbent president of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, won the first round of the presidential elections held on 16 October.

The VRMO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] announced at a news conference for Macedonian and foreign journalists that yesterday's self-proclamation of Gligorov as president, before the official results of the first round of elections are released, is a prelude to despotism.

Gligorov's only opponent, VMRO-DPMNE candidate Ljubisa Georgievski said that this belittled the highest judicial bodies in the country and that his official objection has now lost any meaning.

The state electoral commission last night announced Gligorov's victory, stressing that this was not the official proclamation of the new head of state because of the possibility that a complicated objection procedure, envisaged by the law, could follow.

The VMRO-DPMNE also disputes the state commission's data itself. They claim that Gligorov won fewer votes than stated by the commission, that is, not enough to win the first round of the elections.

Organizes Protest Rallies

AU2210170594 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 21 Oct 94 p 4

["A.D."-initialed report: "A Call for a Vote of No-Confidence in the Government"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] has sent a request to the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] calling for the summoning of an extraordinary assembly session to discuss confidence in the government. The request is signed by 22 members of parliament, and it was delivered "due to the irregularities, illegal acts, and inconsistencies" in the election process.

At yesterday's news conference, Martin Trenevski, the speaker of the party said that "the state bodies' manipulations and the manipulations of the representatives of the Alliance for Macedonia, that is their statements on some bloodshed and their mobilization of the police and the Army before the rally, indicate that violence is characteristic of the Alliance, and not of the VMRO-DPMNE.

"Our rally was organized as a peaceful protest, and our decision to annul or boycott the elections is now not only a party decision, but it is the expression of the will of the people." This is what party leader Ljupco Georgievski said. Further on, he said that the fact that the Army was engaged during the rally, allegedly to defend the authorities, represents an unprecedent scandal.

"The mobilization of the Guard demonstrates that Kiro Gligorov's rule is similar to Dudayev's in Chechnya. This shows that the authorities are paranoid and ready for a stronger dictatorship. As far as the presence of

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international observers is concerned, they visited the electoral districts as tourists."

Presidential candidate Ljubisa Georgievski also attended the news conference. He said: "The force of our argument is the argument of their force." The representatives of the party stated that other protest rallies will be organized, and that the international observers are still offering to mediate with the authorities.

DP Chairman Discusses Rally, Police, Government

AU2210170494 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 21 Oct 94 p 4

["P.Dj."-initialed report: "The Authority Uses Bolshevik Police Methods"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The topic of yesterday's news conference of the DP [Democratic Party] was the protest rally that was organized in Skopje, jointly organized by this party and the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity].

DP President Petar Gosev said that the rally went the way promised, which means that it was a peaceful expression of the citizens' protest against, as he said, the state forgery in the elections. The rally was attended by 50,000 citizens and not as few as was stated in the media, and according to Gosev, there would have been double that number if the authorities had not instilled fear among the citizens by using Bolshevik police methods. The authorities, that is the police, blocked the roads throughout the country, and it nearly blocked the streets of Skopje. Thus, it violated the right to free movement and the free expression of opinion.

Gosev announced that objections had been filed about all 116 election stations, containing both general and particular remarks. When he was asked whether the memorandum that was sent to the assembly chairman was copied down from a similar document of four years ago, he replied that he knows nothing about a memorandum from four years ago, and said that the circumstances are different, because the elections four years ago were not a state forgery. He said that it was in the interests of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] to have a legal government, because otherwise it would lead to the destabilization of the state.

Another question was of how the DP plans to boycott the second electoral round if the names of the candidates remain on the lists? Gosev replied that the DP is an organized party and that if a DP candidate enters parliament with the mediation of the regime, he will not participate in the work of the parliament.

Opposition Rally, Memorandum to Assembly Viewed

AU2210174894 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 21 Oct 94 p 3

["V.R."-initialed report: "Support and Accusation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] As an expression of the revolt of the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] and the DP [Democratic Party] a memorandum was sent to the chairman of the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] from the rally organized by those parties in Skopje Square.

The memorandum states that they "are against the mass and drastic violation of the election procedure and the direct state involvement in numerous violations of the laws and procedures." These parties presented two requests: First, the annulment of the elections and the establishment of conditions for fair and legal elections; second, the Macedonian Government is requested to resign, this to be followed by the formation of a professional government that will implement regular elections. They also request the resignation of the State Electoral Commission and the separation of the presidential and parliamentary elections. The deadline is Saturday, 22 October, at 0700. If their requests are not fulfilled, the VMRO-DPMNE and the DP announce that they will boycott the second round of the election.

This is how some political parties interpret the memorandum:

The Democratic Party of Macedonia [in Tetovo], for instance, believes that democracy cannot be built by estimates and pressure, particularly not at this moment, when all international factors, as well as our neighbors, are waiting for a chance to profit from our disagreement.... However, this does not imply that they will allow the authorities to do whatever they please with the highest state and citizens' interests or behave irresponsibly. "We do not agree with the memorandum, nevertheless, if there is any material proof of failures or manipulations in the first electoral round, the State Electoral Commission must annul the elections and let the citizens give their vote to the party they trust the most."

"The rally and the demands of the VMRO-DPMNE and the DP are a result of the political assessment of these two parties, and it is their risk if they think that they can profit from it. We are a part of the political scene, but the invitation from these two parties was unacceptable to us because we did not want to be just a part of the rally, without taking part in the preparation of any possible demands. We do not want to be an opposition party at any cost, and as we have reiterated many times before, we are not in favor of using populist methods to solve problems," members of the Civil-Liberal Party of Macedonia said.

As for the Movement for All-Macedonian Action [MAAK], the Republic of Macedonia stands on the edge separating reason from chaos. There is an extremely delicate political balance in which one wrong step could make the political situation unacceptable. At this moment, there is not one single goal in favor of which we

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would destroy the internal political stability. For MAAK, it is not only a matter of dignity, but also a question of responsibility to recognize political reality the way it is: Power is power, but it is a fact that Macedonia today is not like putty that can be reshaped and transformed, but people can be in opposition. To play games with this reality is a high political risk. What you are today does not necessarily mean that you will be the same tomorrow. The spiritual trade mark of this opposition must always remain: A politically stable, democratic, independent, and autonomous Macedonia. For MAAK, it is becoming more evident that the State Electoral Commission, regarding the historic interests of the Macedonian people, is faced with great temptations, trying to adjust what cannot be adjusted.

"The Republican Party and its members and supporters participated in the rally organized to protest against the way in which the first electoral round was implemented. We held consultations with the other opposition parties, we gave our support for the memorandum, and the last item on the memorandum was added at our request—to separate the presidential and parliamentary elections, and this something that we consider to be of great importance." This is what they say within the republican Party. "Our Party supports presidential candidate Kiro Gligorov, but we claim that the delay in presenting the results of the State Electoral Commission is proof that supports our 'Titanic' thesis, on which we shall give our opinion the moment this parody has ended."

The Labor Party demands the annulment of the elections, "because it has been demonstrated that the authorities scheduled the elections without providing the necessary conditions for their implementation." They think that the first and most important thing was for the citizens with the right to vote to be registered—although, according to the authorities, we had successful elections. Why had so many lists not been updated lists? Why were so many lists missing? Why were so many citizens not registered or not informed? Why were families called to vote at different election stations and posts? There is sufficient reason for the Republican Party to say that the elections were not successful and regular from the very start.

We are in favor of solving the matters quickly and officially, like men, and congratulations to whoever takes power. We are in favor of new—although late—but clean elections that cannot not be criticized for anything. Th[illegible] what they say within the Labor Party.

'Biased' Candidate for CSCE Chairman Viewed

AU2410091194 Tirana BALLI I KOMBIT in Albanian 13 Oct 94 p 8

[Commentary by Sabahudin Demiraj: "Mr. Bogh Cannot Be Chairman of the Mission in Skopje"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The candidacy for chairman of the CSCE mission in Skopje is due to be discussed soon in Vienna. The Norwegian Ambassador, Mr. Bogh, is viewed as one of the possible candidates. He could become the successor to U.S. Ambassador Anderson, who currently heads the CSCE mission in Skopje.

The situation in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] is becoming acute as a result of two phenomena:

1. The Albanians are moving steadily toward the realization of the so-called state forming ability, which is now becoming crystallized in the run-up to the elections in the former Yugoslav republic.

2. Macedonian government officials are stepping up repressions against the Albanian population, which constitutes more than 40 percent of the total population, aiming to relegate them to the status of second-class citizens.

In this context, with the situation deteriorating and no clear idea of how it will evolve, the role of international envoys and monitors—especially those of the CSCE, since it has been following political developments in this former Yugoslav republic closely—takes on particular importance. The U.S. presence in Macedonia has played a part in strengthening the country's fragility in the eyes of the world and consolidating its security, particularly on its borders with Greece and Serbia. However, as far as the domestic situation in Macedonia is concerned, the country remains permanently endangered by the existence of the major Albanian element. Instead of peaceful coexistence with the Albanians, who constitute over 40 percent of the republic's total population, the Macedonian Government has chosen the tortuous path of repression against them.

Without going into detail or analyzing the fulfillment of the mission by U.S. Ambassador Anderson in Skopje, we emphasize that his replacement by Ambassador Bogh would not be an adequate choice. Albania, for its part, should put more pressure on the Italian presidency to avoid the possible appointment of this candidate.

Tore Bogh has been Norway's Ambassador to Belgrade for eight years in a row. During that time, he has become entrapped by his inherent preference for Serbia. He proved his sympathies while he headed the missions in Kosovo, Sandjak, and Vojvodina until they were ejected by the Serbian state. Even in the face of this arrogant act, he did not react as expected, and put up with each new situation that came along.

Throughout his time as chairman of the mission in Kosovo, many CSCE delegations expressed their concern and made more than a few remarks on the reports sent in by the mission and by Ambassador Bogh himself, in terms of the way the situation was presented and his biassed pro-Serb stance.

During the entire period that he was chairman of the CSCE mission in Kosovo there was almost a total

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vacuum, because this ambassador did not submit realistic reports on the worsening of the situation in Kosovo and even presented it as normal, thus making it impossible for CSCE proposals to be used as pressure on Belgrade. Of course, his stand is not the stand of the Norwegian Government, but it is a simple abuse of the trust that the CSCE has invested in him, not to mention that the situation in Kosovo is very critical at this historic moment.

As a consequence, an envoy who has shown by his conduct that he is not a real envoy must not be allowed to repeat his past mistakes. In Skopje, where, as mentioned above, the situation is becoming critical, a serious chairman of the CSCE mission must be appointed, because the easing of tension there is of primary importance to all the parties concerned and to the CSCE itself, which must take a realistic stand.

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Objections Sent to Rome Over Aquileia Document

AU2110184994 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] After the latest conflict in Slovene-Italian relations, it is already clear now that Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek will not travel to Rome on 24 October, although this was one of the possible dates for his talks with Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi.

We have learned that the Slovene Government had sent objections to Rome referring mainly to the point of the Aquileia draft joint statement that speaks of freezing the property of the former Italian citizens, that is, their successors, until the passing of Slovene legislation that would allow foreigners access to the real estate on the entire Slovene territory. At least, that is how one can understand the summary of the Aquileia accord published in the Italian paper IL PICCOLO.

The government has done so on the basis of yesterday's extraordinary session of Prime Minister Drnovsek's cabinet. At the session they examined individual points of the Aquileia draft accord. In accordance with this, the government sent some additional objections to Rome, referring to other points of the draft joint declaration.

If Rome will acknowledge the Slovene objections and reply to them by the beginning of the next week, then Prime Minister Drnovsek might sign a joint Slovene-Italian agreement after the talks with his Italian counterpart Berlusconi at a visit that will probably be on 26 or 28 October.

Peterle Views Resignation, SKD Congress

AU2410090494 Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovene 18 Oct 94 pp 12-14

[Interview with outgoing Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle by Mitja Grah; place and date not given: "Between Party and Government"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Grah] It has been a month since your protest resignation from the post of foreign minister. On that occasion, you commented on the election of Jozef Skoljc as State Chamber speaker with the grand words: "The monopolization of power by the LDS [the Liberal Democracy of Slovenia]," "a shift to the left," "block policy," "the political destabilization of the Slovene political scene," and so forth. You have aroused big expectations: Some people expected that the SKD [Slovene Christian Democrats] would leave the government, others that a dual SKD-LDS coalition would finally be formed; yet other people again expected something else, however, they all expected something crucial. It does not seem that anything substantial happened in this period. If you were to sum it all up after a month, what did you actually accomplish with your resignation?

[Peterle] First of all, I would like to say that the party, and not only the party, but I believe also a significant portion of the Slovene public, accepted the resignation with sympathy. It perceived it as a gesture that was necessary and justifiable in the given circumstances. The segment of the party that sports critical views toward the LDS, especially, accepted my resignation positively. As this was a moral issue, there could be no bargaining behind it. If I did not contribute toward a greater degree of clarity, I at least inspired more sensitivity for it. We will not get far with two coalitions. Democracy must be more than just a voting mechanism.

[Grah] The positive effects of your resignation within the Christian Democracy are numerous and doubtlessly clear. However, what consequences has your resignation had on the relations within the government coalition in the past month?

[Peterle] One can sense a belief within the coalition that it is better to have Peterle in the government than in the parliament and outside the government institutions. The prime minister has asked me on several occasions whether I would not perhaps change my mind, continue as the foreign minister, and so forth. I replied that there were no reasons for this and that all the circumstances because of which I had resigned remained unchanged. Actually some new things are happening that are very similar to the event in spring 1992. What Rupel and Bavcar are doing now is almost identical to what they were doing in my government: They were in the government, yet they worked against it. After the government established and publicly endorsed projects, Bavcar ventured into a public attack on the government, that is, on Transportation Minister Igor Umek, and that is what Rupel is doing to the foreign minister. The misfortune of this coalition is that we cannot reach an agreement within the government and the coalition, but that the Liberal Democrats (not always in the name of the party) are attacking the Christian Democratic ministers in State Chamber commissions and in public.

For this reason, I cannot say that I have accomplished the clarity that I sought with my resignation. However, the murky waters in the LDS, as to what they actually want and with whom they want to achieve it, will have to clear sooner or later. There have nevertheless been some positive moves in the past month: We have continued program negotiations with the LDS, in which we have accomplished a great proximity of views regarding economic policy and compensation for injustice, the debate on religious education is still underway, we are drafting a new coalition agreement, and we have agreed on the manner of decision making within the coalition. However, the fundamental question remains open for me: While I can guarantee my 15 votes in parliament, whenever I have asked Drnovsek how many votes he can guarantee, he has never been able to tell me so far. For me, this is the key question, in which lies the answer as to what kind of a party the LDS actually is. If you look at the results of the recent public opinion poll in DELO, you can see what is the situation regarding the preferences of LDS voters. The picture is very clear....

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[Grah] What are you referring to?

[Peterle] I am referring to the great sympathy of the LDS voters for Milan Kucan.

[Grah] Judging by the reactions to the candidacy of Dr. Andrej Umek, few people believe that Dr. Drnovsek will propose Dr. Umek as the new foreign minister to the State Chamber. What will you do if the prime minister rejects your candidate? Will you insist on the coalition agreement according to which the Foreign Ministry belongs to the SKD and propose another candidate or will you perhaps propose the initiation of talks on a change of departments within the coalition?

[Peterle] We have already become used to having cold water poured on any candidate that we propose (starting with Peterle). I am convinced that anyone would be met with the same reception, regardless of whom we might propose. We have seriously proposed Dr. Andrej Umek, and we insist on his candidacy. Of course, the prime minister has the right to reject his candidacy, however, I warn him that this rejection will not be all that simple. It is also possible that the LDS, with a 47-seat majority, will push their man through and once again strike a pact with Jelincic [Slovene National Party leader]. As long as the present coalition agreement exists, we will insist on this department being ours. We can discuss the new coalition agreement in a different way, too. However, I favor the department staying with the Christian Democrats, and I am opposed to games being played with the candidate whom we have seriously proposed.

[Grah] Are there conditions and circumstances in which you would be willing to continue being foreign minister?

[Peterle] I resigned for two key reasons: First, the monopolistic understanding of the LDS's authority—and nothing has changed there; Skoljc pushed right to the end. The State Council, which is supposed to play a supervisory role over the State Chamber, is still led by a president from the LDS, and, on top of all this, the party also has the State Chamber vice president. When I criticized this situation, somebody from the LDS replied: "Do not worry about it, we can always elect another vice president." Second, the LDS has still not formally changed its partnership attitude toward the Christian Democrats.

If what obviously cannot happen in the LDS were to happen, namely, that the monopoly would relax and at least one of the presidential posts in the parliament (the seat of State Chamber chairman or State Council chairman) would be taken by somebody not from the LDS—and I am not saying that he has to be one of us; if a new coalition agreement and program that would include the so- called symbolic points (denationalization, compensation of injustices, religious education....) was to be reached; if we were to agree on partnership working relations, then I would be willing to reconsider leaving the Foreign Ministry. However, I have resigned, and I cannot take my resignation back. That is, under new circumstances, I would be willing to run for the post of head of foreign affairs again, however, I am not willing to go back on my word and cancel my resignation.

[Grah] Would you be willing to perform any other government post in this government mandate?

[Peterle] Only under certain circumstances. Right now, I would really like to go, however, if we reach an acceptable agreement regarding the program and the new coalition agreement, then we would also be willing to consider some other government role.

[Grah] However, in this case, the first role would probably nevertheless be the resumption of the Foreign Ministry?

[Peterle] No.

[Grah] On 1 October, the SKD Council decided that the Christian Democrats are staying in the government, however, under certain conditions, among which is also that a new coalition agreement must be signed with the LDS, which must also contain ideologically charged issues in its program, such as compensation for injustices and the introduction of religious education. What does a just and a rapid compensation of injustice entail for the Christian Democrats?

[Peterle] First of all, this is not an ideological issue for us. It is a political issue, and "the party" is the one that always screams "ideology" when something does not suit it. It is a matter of political manners to compensate the people who have suffered because of revolutionary violence for whatever they can be compensated for. Injuries should be compensated for quickly, because these people are dying every day and are dying without getting justice. We are striving for the law on compensation of injustice to involve all key categories of affected and for the compensation to be, if possible, fair. [passage omitted]

[Grah] Do you expect a debate on the Christian Democrats leaving the government at the party congress [on 22 October]? If this debate does arise, what will you do?

[Peterle] According to the statute, the congress does not have the mandate to decide about the party's participation in the government or about its withdrawal from it. This is the mandate of the party council, which, so far, has not made a decision about the withdrawal. I am convinced that this debate will arise, especially because we have witnessed new elements in the LDS that do not speak in favor of partnership. The delegates will most certainly discuss this, however, it is not the congress's place to decide on it.

[Grah] If I have understood correctly, the congress is not authorized to pass a decision about the party's withdrawal from the government even if all party delegates were to demand this?

[Peterle] The congress is the highest level of the party. If it were proposed that the congress decides on the party's withdrawal from the government, then it would be

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difficult to deny or object to this possibility. However, I expect that the congress will not move in this direction.

[Grah] You will again run for the party president and, for the time being, I believe, you are the only candidate for this post. Is this true?

[Peterle] Sadly, yes.

[Grah] What can the party expect from your leadership, that is, what can you promise the membership in return for your election?

[Peterle] From Lojze Peterle, the party can expect the continuation of the program's implementation in the only manner that is befitting the Christian Democracy as the party of the center, that is, in a responsible and moderate manner. If I am reelected as party president, I should like to lead the party on an straight path regarding ideologically and program, without veering to the left or the right extremes, and I am not in the least interested in populism even though it might seem appealing at times. So far, the Christian Democracy has made progress. It is the only party of the former Demos that won more votes at the second multiparty elections than in the first. I believe that this trend can be maintained with hard and earnest work, as we can only compensate for the advantage held by those who have been in politics longer through hard work. In brief: I am offering a serious, constructive, and state-forming party that addresses all social classes with a clear program and convincing results. [passage omitted]

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Federal

Lilic Expects UNSC To Lift Sanctions

AU2110181794 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Oct 94

[Report by Zoran Glisovic]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Kragujevac today is marking the 50th anniversary of liberation and the 53d anniversary of the German fascists' execution of 7,300 innocent patriots in that town. The Kragujevac Assembly held a festive session to mark these anniversaries. The session was addressed by FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] President Zoran Lilic. After that, the traditional great school class was held in Sumarice.

Shortly before the great school class, the main antiwar manifestation in Kragujevac, from which a message for peace in the world and the former Bosnia-Herzegovina was once again sent out, a festive session of the Kragujevac Assembly was held in the Sumadija Hall. In addition to the delegations of the World Union of Towns-Victims of Fascism, the Republic of Serbia, the Romanian town of Pitesti, the Italian town of Carrare, Ohrid in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], and other places, the session was also attended by FRY President Zoran Lilic.

After the greeting speech by Kragujevac Mayor Zivorad Nesic, who spoke about Kragujevac's historical dates, efforts to survive these difficult times, and some issues concerning the town's development, the participants in the meeting and the citizens were addressed by FRY President Zoran Lilic. Having stressed that Kragujevac is a heroic town and a symbol of suffering and resistance to fascism, a symbol of peace and dignity, Zoran Lilic said that we managed under the most difficult circumstances to overcome numerous obstacles on the path to recovery by relying on our own efforts and intellect, thus preventing an economic and financial catastrophe in the country. He then said:

[Begin Lilic recording] The recovery of production, the increases in salaries, and the rise in the standard of living of the population in these conditions represent a great success for us, as well as a long-term task and a lasting commitment. We must protect these results at any cost because they not only represent the condition for our further progress, but also for our survival. We must oppose intelligently and resolutely all those to whom the economic chaos represents the best ground for making profit, those who have recently been obviously doing their best to create this chaos again. The outcome of this depends only and primarily on us.

The path of economic recovery has been traced. We have the expertise, the will, and the opportunities to continue along that path at an accelerated rate for the benefit of our citizens. I would like to stress that the republican and federal government bear the brunt of responsibility for the completion and strict implementation of the economic program of the country on these initial results. The greatest value of this program lies in the fact that our citizens have accepted it as their program and that the program has, in fact, became a general people's program. Its success depends on its implementation becoming a general people's movement for a better and more descent life of our citizens, for economic stability as a condition for political and state stability, as well as for the inclusion in European and world economic trends on an equal footing.

Our consistent peace policy is, in fact, opening up such prospects. The international factors are becoming increasingly aware that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia represents an irreplaceable factor in the promotion of the peace process in the former Yugoslavia. The direct result of that awareness is the improvement in the international position of our country.

Even though U.N. Security Council [UNSC] Resolution 943 represents only the first and I would say major step, this step nevertheless insufficiently affirms the policy of our country. I hope that the belief will prevail in the Security Council that only the complete lifting of the sanctions can lead to a fast or faster establishment of peace in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Russian diplomacy is today working along these lines increasingly openly. I believe that some other members of the Contact Group favor these stands, too. The efforts of major powers, especially European powers and the Russian Federation, on ending the war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina as soon as possible are becoming more noticeable.

I would like to stress that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will persist in its peace and constructive efforts to solve the crisis and end war destruction. [end recording]

The speech by FRY President Zoran Lilic was followed by the presentation of October awards. [passage omitted]

Calls For 'Gradual Solution'

AU2210170394 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Oct 94

[Report by Tamara Motrenko on news conference by FRY President Zoran Lilic in Belgrade on 22 October—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Motrenko] [passage omitted] Yugoslav President Zoran Lilic has just held a news conference.

[Lilic] You must be interested in what we discussed, and [word indistinct], which is the ways and speed of solving the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, particularly in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. We have expressed the wish to develop our bilateral relations even further, to improve significantly the already good relations we have

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with Romania, to prepare [word indistinct] contracts for the time following the lifting of the sanctions. We hope, both in Yugoslavia and in Romania, that this time will not be long in coming.

I can tell you that the Romanian side is absolutely supportive of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] policies, that the joint attitude is that the only true contribution to peace at the moment would be the immediate lifting of the sanctions against the FRY, that this would be the right road to lead to the overall solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. Every [word indistinct] of the problem and the solution to the issues concerning the former Yugoslavia do not lead to the peaceful solution, but can potentially lead to new situations that would not be to the advantage of the FRY or any other country in this region. [Words indistinct] in our region, and naturally in the Balkans, which would be a significant contribution to the overall stabilization of relations in the entire Europe.

[Motrenko] Asked about the possibility of tying the lifting of the sanctions to new conditions, President Lilic said:

[Lilic] I had a chance today to respond to a similar question, when it comes to the Republic of Croatia. There is the Vance Plan, which we accepted [word indistinct], which has been accepted by the Republic of Serbian Krajina and the international community. It does not prejudice any political solution and it would be a good idea if Croatia avoided doing that as well. No pressure should be exerted to that end. In my mind, the only right way to solve the problems existing on that territory is a gradual solution. Peace has to be established first. We have achieved that, thanks to all the things that we from the FRY have done and also thanks to the Vance Plan. Economic relations have to be solved and improved, as well as the communications issues, in which Croatia does not want to participate at the moment. The third issue is to find a final solution by political means between the Serbs there and the Republic of Croatia—according to the Vance Plan and without prejudicing the political solution. Then there will be no reason for us not to recognize and accept what they jointly agree on.

As for Bosnia-Herzegovina, I think we have made our views clear many times, so there is no need for me to repeat them here. We will accept any agreement that is in the interest of all the parties. By adopting the declaration of 27 April, the Federal Assembly has said all that was needed and has left room for any kind of cooperation with all the republics of the former Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

JAT Reports Lufthansa To Fly to Belgrade

LD2110175394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1732 GMT 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 21 Oct (TANJUG)—The information service of Yugoslav Aerotransport [JAT] announced today that all Lufthansa planes have been cleared for regular flights to Belgrade as of Monday 24 October.

JAT's planes will start flying to Germany on the same day. Four weekly flights are scheduled on the Belgrade-Frankfurt line and back. The permits held by both air companies will expire on 12 January 1995. [passage omitted]

Vienna Genocide Trial Called 'Mockery'

LD2110190294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1834 GMT 21 Oct 94

[By Svetislav Maksovic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vienna, Oct. 21 (TANJUG)—A trial of Bosnian Serb Dusko Cvjetkovic, which had been announced as the "first trial on charges of genocide in Bosnia", turned out to be a mockery on Thursday.

Silly statements by prosecution witnesses caused laughter in the courtroom.

"I have not seen him, but everyone knows Cvjetkovic has done what he has been charged with," said a witness in Salzburg Thursday, during the trial of Cvjetkovic, 26, for murder, genocide and arson.

None of the prosecution witnesses were credible. Another witness claimed to have "indisputable" proof of Cvjetkovic's guilt. "Everyone set fires, so he (Cvjetkovic) must have been there too," he said.

Such statements made judge Eckehard Ziesel angry. He adjourned the trial, which opened on Thursday, until Dec. 5.

Cvjetkovic has been charged with "genocide", although he was indicted for killing one person on July 14, 1992, in the village of Kucice, about 140 km northwest of Sarajevo.

Cvjetkovic told the court that the proceedings against him had a strong political background and were not based on facts. He said events happened in quite the reverse order—Muslims took over the village and wanted to kill all the Serbs.

That was why he came to Austria as a refugee two years ago, he said.

The charges against Cvjetkovic have been built on such weak foundations that many neutral observers in Vienna wonder why Austrians allowed themselves to be involved in the first place.

A group of 13 Austrian intellectuals have sent a petition to the Ministry of Justice and the Salzburg court to stop the trial.

If Cvjetkovic were to be found guilty, it would mean all Serbs in Austria would be fair game, the petition said.

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The petition said Cvjetkovic was a victim of a political trial of the Serb people. 300,000 Serbs in Austria have been stripped of their rights in this trial, the petition said.

"The trial of Cvjetkovic" is a "trial of Austrian democracy," the petition said.

Austrian media seem to have realised that the pretentiously announced trial of a "war criminal" is in fact a mockery. Cvjetkovic's defence attorney Guenther Stanonik warned the jury on Thursday that the press were practising "indoctrination."

Almost all papers, as well as the state television, have been pointing out the contradiction in the statements of the prosecution witnesses and sadly concluded that there was actually no firm evidence to prove Cvjetkovic's guilt.

The only possible outcome of the trial, once it resumes on Dec. 5, is that the defendant is found not guilty and is released from detention. Cvjetkovic was detained on May 19, 1994.

Any other decision by the jury would bring disgrace on the Austrian judiciary, which has already lost face when it laid such irrational charges against Cvjetkovic.

Avramovic Dismisses Criticism of Economic Program

AU2110173494 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 20 Oct 94

[Interview with FRY National Bank Governor Dragoslav Avramovic by Sasa Barbulovic in Belgrade—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Barbulovic] Our guest in the studio tonight is Professor Dragoslav Avramovic, governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia. Good evening.

[Avramovic] Good evening.

[Barbulovic] Data on the growth of industrial production was just published a few days ago. At the same time, the public is preoccupied with events on the market: the fluctuation of prices and the renewed attacks on the dinar. Could you comment on this?

[Avramovic] Well, what I am going to attempt to do in the space of a few minutes is describe the situation on the market, the situation in the economy, where we now stand, the measures we intend to take in order to solve the current problem, and what awaits us after this. As far as the current situation on the market is concerned, the [reappearance] of the stuezung [foreign currency dealers' cut]—the last information I received yesterday was that 1 German mark equals 1.38 dinars; I do not know what happened today, but the stuezung is here. We used to have it earlier, too, but it is now somewhat higher than it used to be. Second, we currently have a sporadic fluctuation of prices; the prices in the last week of September are higher by some 6 percent than in January. That is not a significant increase when you consider the entire period and everything that we have been through. However, this has caused anxiety and chaos. My personal index—based on the price of burek [a type of cheese pie], hamburgers, and fried fish—has increased by 7 percent, the price of burek has increased by 7 percent in comparison to the price of lard. I was informed yesterday that the price has been increased, so I hope that my index will fall. Third, we have sporadic shortages of certain goods. There is no reason for this. From what I can see in the shops, this primarily pertains to milk.

Critics and monitors of the program claim that three things are wrong with it: first, that the money supply is large; second, that the dinar has been overestimated; and third, that the economy has suffered great losses. None of these three remarks are true. Our money supply today is some 11-15 percent of the national income. The average figure in five Latin America countries is 28 percent. The average figure in Eastern Europe and India is some 59 percent. Therefore, to talk about overexpansion makes no sense. Of course, when there is fear, the circulation of the money supply speeds up. This is then a different situation, and we should fear that. As far as the overestimation of the dinar is concerned, I have just received an analysis that was drafted in the National Bank by a female analyst, which shows that in comparison to prices abroad and their fluctuation from February to the present, the price competitiveness of our economy was superior to [words indistinct]. Our exporters have not been complaining that our prices are too high, but they obviously have problems because of the sanctions. Tomorrow, once the sanctions are relaxed and so forth, we shall have to look for additional measures to expand our export. As far as losses are concerned, I have to say that this is a myth. A survey conducted by the State Accounting Service [SDK] [words indistinct]. According to one of our top analysts, all the losses can be attributed to valorization and accounting. There have been no real losses. If this is true, then the pressure on the dinar is psychological rather than [words indistinct]. And the most important thing is that we had [word indistinct] a growth in production. We had an incredible growth in production in September, 17 percent in just one month, which came after the 8-percent increase in August. Compared to January, today we have a level of production whose annual rate is 92 percent higher. We went through an immense expansion; this expansion is now reflected in the building trade and in our investments. We have a hot economy. In a hot economy, accompanied by an increase in salaries, which is evident, you are all aware of the fact that salaries have significantly increased in a great part of our society, and that is why a certain pressure on the prices is inevitable. There is also a huge demand for loans, because everyone now wants to expand; listen to the radio—I listen to it every day—and we shall see this every day. [passage omitted]

If we now make a mess of this because of psychological reasons—and they are the primary reasons here—it will

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be an unforgivable stupidity. However, we have to face the fact that we are faced with an immense demand for foreign currency and loans; we have a hot economy and we have to cool it down a bit. That is why we are going to immediately undertake a series of measures. First, we shall put foreign currency from the National Bank's reserves—that we have accumulated—on the market. This is going to be significant: the sale of foreign currency for dinars in order to satisfy the requirements of our economy and to settle the exchange rate. Second, we shall immediately issue National Bank treasury bonds, which means that banks will be able to buy the National Bank's treasury bonds and in this way, a part of our solvency—some 50 million dinars by next month—will be mobilized. This will be done gradually to prevent a fall in production. In addition to this, we shall reduce the existing credit [word indistinct] for solvency which we have given the banks. In this way, we shall reduce the level of credit activity in order to calm the economy as regards the credit situation. [sentence as heard] Furthermore, we shall retain the National Bank's [words indistinct] for a period of two weeks and without expanding the credit, and we shall suggest to the Service for Payment Transactions, the Federal Treasury, and the republican bodies not to give loans. We shall also suggest to banks not to approve loans for budgets and funds in the course of the following two weeks to one month, so that we can catch up with the economy, to lower it from this great height, in order to be able to proceed further. [sentence as heard] We shall do this immediately, and on the day after tomorrow, we shall meet with our banks—before Monday—to ascertain how much the banks can contribute to the project by helping us with their activities and their foreign currency potential. I appeal to everyone not to panic so that we can move forward as part of a collective effort, and thus not ruin what we have achieved by investing tremendous effort, resulting in immense success. [passage omitted]

Mystery Surrounding Jugoskandik Burglary Viewed

95BA0005B Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 19 Aug-2 Sep 94 pp 27-29

[Article by Momir Ilic: "Robbery of the Century: Trial of 'Jugoskandik' Vault Thieves: Whom Is Belgrade Police Hiding"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The men accused of stealing approximately 4 million German marks [DM] allege that the indictment against them is based on confessions that were extracted from them by the police. Inspector Dragan Mladenovic contends that the police has solid evidence concerning the involvement of some of its employees in the robbery as well. It is obvious that the investigation work was not done well and that the trial will not provide all the answers to questions surrounding the disappearance of such a large sum of money from the bank of Boss Jezdimir Vasiljevic!*

In a little more than a month, the trial of the accused in the "Jugoskandik" affair will enter its final phase. Already it is certain that even after the verdict is handed down, many key details concerning the theft of around DM3,800,000 from the vault of Boss Jezda's once illustrious firm will remain in the dark.

It seems paradoxical, but the entire course of the proceedings thus far has generated uncertainty, dilemmas, questions, and doubts to a greater extent than it is has managed to clear up some of the essential facts necessary to piece together the entire mosaic of this case. Even today, it is anyone's guess who the brains of the operation (from planning to execution) was, who all participated in it, and whether only the amount of foreign exchange noted in the indictment was taken from the vault.

The general confusion has been greatly heightened by the five defendants themselves, who during the main proceedings have retracted everything that they said during the investigation, alleging that they were forced to make such statements by police methods. What happened on the night between 14 and 15 April of last year at Belgrade's Marshal Tolbuhin Street 31 has seemingly been overshadowed by the process of determining their role in this affair.

Disastrous Dual Authority

It all happened after Jezdimir Vasiljevic's spectacular escape, or more precisely, after his sensational news conference in Budapest at which it was revealed that he had no intention of returning to Belgrade, thus casting around 60,000 of his credulous and greedy depositors into despair. There is some indication that right before leaving the country Jezda withdrew around DM13.5 million. His telegram from Hungary in which, among other things, he released his employees from their employment contracts elicited a real stampede on the vault. According to some assessments, "Jugoskandik" officials, friends, relatives, acquaintances, or to be more precise, all depositors with strong ties to this company, relieved the safe of another DM7.5 million on the night between 11 and 12 March. Officially, various foreign exchange worth around DM3.8 million was left in the vault, together with around 156 kg of gold.

Only then did government institutions react, and a newly formed "Depositors Committee" was announced. Bankruptcy proceedings were quickly initiated for "Jugoskandik."

During that time, the first rumors that the "Jugoskandik" vault was the target of still-unknown thieves began to circulate. The story was probably fanned by the knowledge that neither the offices nor the cabinets where the money was stored were exactly the most secure. Probably because of that, the Okrug Economic Court insisted that the foreign exchange and gold be transferred to a safer place. Unfortunately, people from the Depositors Committee opposed the court decision. They turned to responsible people from the Serbian MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] for help, while the judge

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heading up the bankruptcy proceedings also requested additional security. But on the April night when the last foreign exchange was removed from the vault, there was not a single police patrol car outside the building on Marshal Tolbuhin Street. The dual authority, split between the court and the Depositors Committee, proved disastrous.

If Boss Jezda is to be believed, he even expected the theft, and he has directly accused people from the Committee of carrying it out. In one of his famous "announcements to the public," Jezdimir Vasiljevic writes: "... 10 days ago I warned that that Committee wanted that (the robbery) to happen. No one reacted to that warning and the robbery took place, with the obvious cooperation of the Committee. I said at the time that in the event of a robbery my obligations toward the depositors cease to the extent of the stolen amount. Now the Committee can find this money for the depositors...."

The fact that the planning of the "robbery of the century" was not a completely guarded secret is also confirmed by MUP inspector Dragan Mladenovic, who worked on this case on the police team.

Robbery at Dawn

Regardless of the fact that the police even received tips about the robbery, the robbers carried it out rather easily, effectively, and successfully. On 15 April of last year, five armed and masked young men broke into the offices of "Jugoskandik" at around 0515 by way of the roof of the building at Smiljaniceva Street 4. On the roof they encountered their first obstacle: two aluminum doors. They had a little trouble with the first one, but the second one was unlocked. Their route then led them to the third floor, where the vault with the foreign exchange and gold was located, with a rather sizable security team. Besides four "Jugoskandik" watchmen, there was also the same number of people from the Depositors Committee. According to one version, the security team observed people in the corridor on a closed-circuit television monitor. One of the guards thought that it was a joke by his colleagues. One of the robbers convinced him otherwise by inflicting a rifle butt blow to the head. The others were quickly downed as well. The assailants handcuffed some of them and tied up the others with plastic cord. Only one of the "Jugoskandik" guards managed to avoid that fate since he was resting in a room that the robbers did not enter. They say that he observed the entire operation through a door left ajar.

There is no doubt that the uninvited but armed and masked guests were thoroughly informed of all details, without which the robbery certainly would not have succeeded. They knew the locations and number of security guards, the layout of the offices and location of the vault, the code to open the door of the room with the cabinets containing money and valuables, and plenty more. This indicates that a "Jugoskandik" employee either was with them or had supplied them with the necessary information in advance.

The bandits broke into the aluminum cabinets, where the foreign exchange and gold were kept, with crowbars. They stuffed the money into bags and returned by the same route. The later report that they did not even touch the gold was met with near-incredulity. Some have explained this by pointing to the excessive risk since the ingots bore Jezda's seal.

Detailed Indictment

As the days passed the dust slowly settled, which was greatly aided by the police, which marked time for a long while. The temperature rose exactly six months later when the names of a group of people alleged to have made off with the money was officially disclosed. The investigation lasted almost as long, and on the last day of March of this year the public was informed that the Okrug Public Prosecutor's Office in Belgrade had indicted a five-member group of robbers on the charges of armed robbery, robbery, and weapons concealment. The names given were Dejan Gajic, Zoran Marinkovic, Tamara Melovic, Djordje Melovic, and Zeljko Milosavljevic. The prosecutor alleges that two suspended MUP employees, Zoran Pavlovic and Dragan Lukic, also belonged to this group, as did Mirsad Rizvanovic. Because they had evaded arrest, the proceedings against them were separated out.

The public prosecutor's version presented some new factors surrounding the robbery previously unknown to the public. Specifically, the indictment charges Gajic and Marinkovic, together with Rizvanovic, Pavlovic, and Lukic, of taking exactly DM3.829 million from the "Jugoskandik" vault. They went across the roof of the building on Smiljaniceva Street onto the balcony of the building in which Jezda's branch office was located. According to the indictment, Rizvanovic and Pavlovic used a metal bar to break down the balcony door and took the stairs down to the third floor, where the "Jugoskandik" offices were located. Next, the indictment alleges, Pavlovic and Lukic—masked and armed with a Kalashnikov and a pistol—rushed into Room 205 and ordered two depositors from the Committee—Darko Bojic and Ceda Vracevic—to lie on the floor. They then bound their arms and legs, warning them not to move or else they would kill them. During that time, according to the indictment, Rizvanovic, armed with an automatic rifle, and Gajic, armed with a pistol, both masked, entered Room 208, where they disarmed and tied up four security guards.

From there they went to Room 211. They first entered the code that they knew, and then they were in Room 212. There they used a metal bar to break down the door to the cabinets and took all the money that they found.

During that time, the prosecutor alleges, Marinkovic was in front of the building in a car keeping watch. He also had a radio set with him. The indictment further alleges

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that Tamara and her brother Djordje Melovic helped Rizvanovic in this operation. Specifically, the indictment states, Rizvanovic got advice from them about how to enter the building, as well as information on the layout of the offices, the location of the vault, the number of people present there, the type of security, the code for entering the vault, and the quantity of money.

The indictment goes on to say that Pavlovic entrusted most of the money, around DM2.5 million, to his godfather Zeljko Milosavljevic, the fifth defendant. More precisely, he transferred the money from the apartment of Pavlovic's parents to his garage, where he buried it. Fearing that the money would be found, Milosavljevic supposedly tried to move the money to a village near Nis. He set out by car, but outside Nis he came across a police patrol. This was in fact a routine check, but Milosavljevic thought that they were on to him and reacted rather adroitly. He pulled out his pistol, disarmed the policemen, took their car keys, and fled. However, he soon felt remorse and turned himself in to the police.

Dead End

The five defendants have refuted all these charges by the public prosecutor before Judge Miroslav Todorovic. Almost in unison, they have alleged that the prosecutor's version is based on confessions that were extracted from them by the police. Those who have followed this trial closely say that the foundations of the indictment are completely undermined and that further insistence on its authenticity is a dead end street. It will certainly not be easy for the panel of judges with the Belgrade Okrug Court to reach a decision. But regardless of what the final word of justice is, the truth about the robbery from the "Jugoskandik" vault will remain incomplete.

Such an outcome has been ensured most of all by Pavlovic, Lukic, and Rizvanovic, who escaped the arm of the law in time. The first two are said to have left the country long ago, having moved their residences from Prague to the United States, while Rizvanovic is generally considered to be dead. The general impression is that the absence of his account has focused the entire case on peripheral persons.

The police too have a role in all this. According to inspector Mladenovic, Pavlovic and Lukic came to Belgrade when the MUP had solid proof of their involvement in the robbery. They escaped right under the noses of their former colleagues.

Besides all this, a further question arises: Do the police know the names of the people who last year kidnapped first Rizvanovic and then Tamara Melovic? What was the role of the still-anonymous kidnappers in all of this?

Obviously, the job has not been done well. Will everything have to done again from the very beginning?

Serbia

Seselj's Incarceration Reportedly To Be Extended

AU2110203294 Paris AFP in English 2005 GMT 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct 21 (AFP)—The Belgrade authorities are planning to keep Serbian ultra-nationalist Vojislav Seselj in jail after he completes a 30-day sentence for spitting on the parliamentary speaker, his lawyer said Friday [21 October].

Seselj, leader of the Serb Radical Party (SRS), was arrested and jailed on September 29 for spitting at parliamentary speaker Radoman Bozovic.

The ultra-nationalist politician is due to leave prison next Friday but his lawyer, Borivoje Borovic, said the Belgrade government was planning to keep him in jail longer.

Borovic said the government was seeking to have Seselj serve out an eight-month sentence given on September 19 for attacking parliamentary security officials but suspended for three years.

He said the state prosecutor had already asked the Belgrade high court to repeal the suspension of the sentence, adding that he expected the court to meet in closed session next week.

Borovic meanwhile condemned the "irregular" procedure under which Seselj had been arrested and jailed in a single day.

His arrest and imprisonment and the lifting of his parliamentary immunity, all carried out on September 29, were "completely illegal, against the constitution, against the law."

After initially supporting President Slobodan Milosevic, Seselj has become one of his most virulent critics.

Fervently devoted to the creation of a Greater Serbia, which would include large areas of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, Seselj set up an armed militia which fought in Croatia, helping to capture such towns as Vukovar, and assisted in the ethnic cleansing of eastern Bosnia.

Since Belgrade turned its back on the Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and imposed a blockade on Bosnian Serb-held territory, Seselj has accused Milosevic of betrayal of the Serbian cause.

Five Ethnic Albanians Charged With Separatism

LD2110214694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2129 GMT 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pec, Yugoslavia, Oct. 21 (TANJUG)—The prosecutor in the southern Serbian town of Pec charged Friday five ethnic Albanians with separatism.

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The suspects, who are in investigative detention in Pec, in the province of Kosovo and Metohija, have been charged with association for purposes of hostile activity and endangering of the territorial integrity of the Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro. They stand accused of setting up illegal bodies of power for a "Republic of Kosovo" for the Pec region in 1992.

A strong ethnic Albanian separatist movement has been active in the Serbian southern province of Kosovo and Metohija for more tha two decades, striving for the province's secession from Serbia and annexation to neighboring Albania.

Political parties of ethnic Albanians, who account for close to 90 percent of the population of Kosovo and Metohija, proclaimed in September 1990 a Republic of Kosovo, which no state has recognized so far.

Ever since, Albanians in the province have been ignoring the legal authorities in the province and the Republic of Serbia, boycotting elections and striving in every way to set up parallel and illegal bodies of power.

The prosecution charges the five with organizing and holding a session of an illegitimate council of Pec in May 1992, which elected Aver Husaj, 35, as its chairman. The prosecution charges Husaj with setting up the illegal and hostile Party of Bali Kombtara with the intention of detaching Kosovo and Metohija by force from Yugoslavia and annexing it to Albania.

The Party of Bali Kombtara follows in the footsteps of Kosovo Albanians' fascist movement which operated during World War II, and has set down in its program as its objective "the liberation of Kosovo from the orthodox Christian occupiers."

The party's membership, headed by Aver Husaj, has been maintaining regular contacts with the "central committee" of an organization of the same name in Bern, Switzerland. The party has been publishing invitations in the provincial Albanian-language BUJKU newspaper to the United Nations to intervene militarily against Serbia and Montenegro.

Bosnian Arms 'Import,' Production Examined

AU2410101794 Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Oct 94 p 29

[Article by Milan Mijalkovski: "Envisaging Largest Military Force"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Appraisals by the U.S. intelligence-gathering services indicate that the Muslims in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina intend to create the largest armed forces on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Considering that the Muslim army (about 260,000 men) numerically exceeds the army of the Srpska republic (80,000) and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] (50,000) put together, the aforementioned ambition means gaining the advantage over Serbs and Croats in fire power, mobility, and armor-piercing and antiaircraft weapons. The measures undertaken by the Muslim leadership to utilize the military industries to the maximum and expand them with the help of some Islamic countries and the illegal acquisition of production materials for the needs of the military industry and offensive arms confirm the aforementioned assertion. This constitutes a violation of the embargo (UN Security Council Resolution 713).

Muslim Military-Industrial Complex

The greatest number of special purpose factories of the former Yugoslav People's Army are on the territory under the control of the Muslims. After overcoming the initial difficulties, these factories resumed the production of ammunition for infantry and artillery weapons. The demand for artillery ammunition can still not be met, not because of an insufficient level of production, but because of the import of artillery pieces of various calibers. The Muslims' intention is to master the technology for producing artillery ammunition, even ammunition containing chemical agents—choking gas [zagusljivac].

Afraid that the HVO might seize the Igman factory in Konjic, they shifted two production lines to Zenica, where they are producing for 7.62-mm automatic-rifle ammunition, 82-mm and 120-mm mortars bombs, and 105-mm and 122-mm shells. Two lines remained in Igman, and they work three shifts producing the same ammunition as those in Zenica.

The Bratstvo factory in Travnik, even though it is working at only 50 percent of its capacity, is the main supplier of the Muslim army. It produces mortars (since the beginning of the war it has produced 1,000 60-mm mortars, 400-500 82-mm mortars, and about 200 120-mm mortars), bombs for these types of mortars, ammunition for all calibers of gun, ranging from 75 mm to 155 mm, and barrels for 203-mm artillery pieces. They are working intensively on the production of a gun called the GSS-2353 and the Kalashnikov automatic rifle. They are also working on all types of artillery pieces.

A number of machines from the Bratstvo factory were moved to the Bugojno and Zenica regions to organize production there.

The Slavko Rodic factory in Bugojno has been damaged, but it is still producing all types of fuses for mortar bombs and artillery shells.

Until April this year, the Pobeda factory in Gorazde was producing all types of ammunition up to 30 mm, mine-explosive devices, and 72-mm air-burst projectiles adapted for combat purposes. After they had repaired the damage, they began producing bombs for 82-mm mortars. However, between 2 and 3 June 1994, there was an explosion, and the factory was damaged again. The consequences are being dealt with rapidly.

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Considering that the representatives of the aforementioned factories have reached agreements with producers in some Islamic countries worth several dozen million dollars, the volume and range of production are expected to increase. This is probably one reason why Alija Izetbegovic said that the lifting of the embargo on the import of arms to the Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina is not appropriate at present.

Constant Violation of the Embargo

According to the information of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, the Muslims had 20 tanks at the beginning of the war. They now have 40 tanks, about 400 artillery pieces, and several planes and helicopters. The real situation is somewhat different (61 tanks, 56 armored personnel carriers, about 460 artillery pieces, 600-700 82-mm and 120-mm mortars, about 160 antiaircraft guns of various caliber, 46 antitank guns, six helicopters, and a certain number of aircraft).

The media report that the arms were mainly acquired illegally in the countries of the former Warsaw pact, that they was paid for in "petro-dollars," and that they were transported via Hungary, Slovenia, and Croatia, as well as via the Croatian sea and air routes.

Germany inherited 2,300 tanks, 9,000 personnel carriers, 5,000 artillery pieces and rocket systems, 700 combat and transportation aircraft and helicopters, and hundreds of metric tons of ammunition from the former GDR [German Democratic Republic]. All these have been earmarked for sale and represent a potential source of weapons for the Muslims. It is a public secret that, between April 1992 and April 1994, the Muslims bought arms worth $162 million and received about 2,000 metric tons of arms and ammunition as gifts. Of course, this process is still underway. Islamic countries allegedly approved a large loan to Alija Izetbegovic for the purchase of arms. This money has already been used to buy 30 aircraft (not delivered yet), 150 tanks, 200 Stinger anti-aircraft missiles and surface-to-surface missiles, 280 artillery pieces of different calibers, especially 107-mm and 122-mm (Chinese) and 230-mm, 333-mm, 355-mm (Iranian) multiple rocket launchers, seven helicopters, and so forth.

It is not very likely that NATO planes taking part in the Deny Flight mission will prevent the illegally acquired arms being delivered by plane from the island of Krk to the territory under Muslim control. Diligent monitors and troops escorting humanitarian convoys between Split-Duvno-Prozor-Makljen and Ploce-Mostar-Novi Travnik-Zenica can put a stop to arms arriving overland. The opening of Dubrava airport near Tuzla can also be used for this purpose.

Because of the ambitions of the Muslim leadership in Bosnia-Herzegovina to create the largest military force in the region, the war can spread and continue. Therefore, the key question is: Will reason prevail, or will the Muslim leadership continue to pursue this dangerous policy?

Italians Plan To Modernize Serbian Railroads

95P20043B Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 24 Sep 94 p 32

[Article by T.M.: "Italian-Serbian Discussion About Railroads"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 24 September—An Italian economic delegation led by top management of the Ansaldo company were recently guests of Belgrade transportation firms and institutes. They apparently agreed on cooperation between the Serbian state railways and the Italian firms, which would become their major foreign business partners after sanctions have been lifted. The agreement deals with the modernization of the Serbian railroads, which have deteriorated rapidly because of international sanctions and isolation, and construction of new rail lines, including the Valjevo-Loznica rail link.

Kosovo

Serbs Conducting Maneuvers Near Glogovac

AU2110144794 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT No 469 in English 20 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Since October 17, Serbian military units equipped with tanks, armored vehicles and heavy armament, including high caliber cannons, have been stationed at the place Duhanoll in the vicinity of Gllogovc, LDK [Democratic League of Kosova] sources in Gllogovc report. Serb soldiers have been digging trenches and performing maneuvers in the fields and groves of the surrounding villages.

Rugova Calls For 'Coalition' of Albanian Parties

AU2210212294 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 21 Oct 94

[Telephone report by Mehmet Haziri from Pristina]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] At today's news conference, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Republic of Kosova, reiterated his demand for an international presence and protection for Kosova due to the increase of Serbian repression and the tense situation that prevails there. Mr. Rugova also hailed the speech by Pellumb Kulla, Albanian ambassador to the United Nations, who presented the Kosova issue and the regional situation at the third session of the UN General Assembly. Mehmet Haziri attended the news conference:

[Haziri] President Rugova briefed the correspondents on the forms of intensified Serbian violence against Albanians and condemned the trumped-up political trials, demanding that all political prisoners be released immediately, among whom is Magistrate Ukshin Hoti, chairman of the National Unity Party and lecturer at Prishtina University.

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Considering the violence that is currently being exerted against Albanians, President Rugova reiterated his demand for a greater international presence and better protection for Kosova. He told correspondents that even this week, Kosova was at the center of attention of the international public and institutions and demanded that the Kosova issue be included in the global solutions to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. In this framework, President Rugova greeted the speech by Pellumb Kulla, Albanian ambassador to the UN General Assembly, regarding the Kosova issue and the regional situation.

Asked whether Serbia will recognize the independence of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina as compensation for the international recognition of the self-proclaimed Yugoslavia and, if that occurs, will Kosova be treated as an international problem or as Serbia's internal affair, President Rugova said that the international factors know and accept that Kosova is an international problem and will be considered as such in the future, too. If reciprocal recognition of the former Yugoslav republics is proclaimed, then we will demand that the Republic of Kosova be recognized, too, President Rugova emphasized.

Asked about the warnings for a revival of a populist movement of the Serbs in Kosova, Rugova attracted the attention that the activation of extremist Serbs will be a manipulation with the Serbs of Kosova. We have guaranteed all rights and genuine interests to them, which is why we do not believe they will rise up against their neighbors and the people with whom they should be living, Rugova answered.

At the meeting with correspondents, President Rugova asked the Albanian political parties in Macedonia [The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] to be more pragmatic in order to form a coalition and win a larger number of deputies in the second round of elections in this former Yugoslav republic. He said that the number of deserved deputies cannot be gained after manipulations with the electoral law and other exploitations as well. The political compromise is not a weakness, but a quality, Rugova pointed out, and called for compromise among the Albanian political parties in Macedonia.

President Rugova answered many questions by correspondents on the current situation in Kosova and in the region.

Rugova Warning: Interethnic Conflicts May Erupt

AU2110155294 Paris AFP in English 1455 GMT 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pristina, Yugoslavia, Oct 21 (AFP)—The leader of Kosovo's predominantly Albanian population, Ibrahim Rugova, warned Friday [21 October] that the province could erupt in inter-ethnic warfare after Serb nationalists published a tract calling for Belgrade to crush Albanian separatists.

He told a press conference in the Kosovo capital Pristina that the action would fuel tension between the Serb and Albanian communities in the Serb-administered and that "inter-ethnic conflicts cannot be ruled out."

Rugova slammed the "intense and uncontrolled repression" which he said ethnic Albanians faced from local Serb authorities and called on the international community to increase its presence in the province "before it is too late." Belgrade removed the region's autonomous status in 1990.

On Thursday, three Kosovo Albanians were given jail terms in Pristina for anti-Serb activities in the province.

They were convicted for helping to set up illegal organisations including an "organism of parallel power at the instigation of the government of the Republic of Kosovo."

Albanians, who make up some 90 per cent of the population, two years ago proclaimed their own republic under the leadership of Rugova, who heads the Kosovo Democratic League, the main Albanian political grouping.

Rugova said if the former Yugoslav republics were ready to recognise each other mutually, "that principle should be applied to Kosovo."

"Kosovo is an international problem and not an internal Serb issue," he declared.

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